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OF THE
OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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AUTHORS' INDEX.

	PAGE
<i>Barlow, Mary S.</i> —History of the Barlow Road.....	71- 81
<i>Biddle, Captain James</i> —Reports Taking Possession of Both Shores of the Columbia August 19, 1818	310-311
<i>Burnett, Peter H.</i> —Letters of, to the <i>New York Herald</i>	398-426
<i>Chittenden, Hiram Martin</i> —"The American Fur Trade in the Far West." (Reviewed).....	260-270
<i>Dye, Eva Emery</i> —"The Conquest—The True Story of Lewis and Clark." (Reviewed).....	427-428
<i>Fenton, William D.</i> —Political History of Oregon from 1865 to 1876.....	38- 70
<i>Gaston, Joseph</i> —The Oregon Central Railroad	315-326
<i>George, M. C.</i> —Political History of Oregon from 1876 to 1895, inclusive.....	107-122
<i>Hillard, George L.</i> —The Connection Between Geography and History, 1815 312-313	
<i>Himes, George H.</i> —The History of the Press of Oregon, 1839-1850.....	327-370
<i>Lyman, Horace S.</i> —Recollections of Grandma (Mrs. Tabitha) Brown, se- cured from Jane Kinney Smith	287-295
<i>Lyman, Horace S.</i> —Reminiscences of Horace Holden.....	161-217
<i>Lyman, Horace S.</i> —Reminiscences of James Jory.....	271-286
<i>Lyman, Horace S.</i> —Reminiscences of Daniel Knight Warren.....	296-309
<i>Minto, John</i> —Sheep Husbandry in Oregon.....	219-247
<i>Morris, William A.</i> —The Historian of the Northwest—Frances Fuller Victor	429-434
<i>Powers, Kate N. B.</i> —Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago—Compiled from the Papers of John Ball	82-106
<i>Pratt, L. E.</i> —The Origin and History of the Willamette Woolen Factory.....	248-259
<i>Robertson, James Rood</i> —The Social Evolution of Oregon.....	1- 37
<i>Victor, Frances Fuller</i> —"The American Fur Trade in the Far West." (Reviewed).....	260-270
<i>Victor, Frances Fuller</i> —The First Oregon Cavalry.....	123-163
<i>Wood, Tallmadge B.</i> —Letter of.....	391-398
<i>Young, Frederic George</i> —The Archives of Oregon	371-389
<i>Young, Frederic George</i> —"The Conquest." (Reviewed).....	427-428

CONTENTS.

SUBJECT INDEX.

	PAGE
Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago (compiled from the papers of John Ball). Kate N. B. Powers.....	82-106
American Fur Trade in the Far West, The. Hiram Martin Chittenden. (Reviewed).....	260-270
Archives of Oregon, The. F. G. Young.....	371-389
Astoria Taken Possession of by Captain James Biddle on Behalf of the United States, August 19, 1818. (Document).....	310-311
Ball, John (compiled from his papers: "Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago"). Kate N. B. Powers.....	82-106
Barlow Road, History of the. Mary S. Barlow.....	71- 81
Brown, Grandma (Mrs. Tabitha), Recollections of. Jane Kinney Smith.....	287-295
Burnett, Peter H., Letters of.....	398-426
Cavalry, The First Oregon. Frances Fuller Victor.....	123-163
Columbia River, Documents Relating to the Taking Possession of the Post and Territory at the Mouth of the. James Biddle.....	310-311
Conquest, The—True Story of Lewis and Clark. E. E. Dye, reviewed.....	427-428
Factory, The Origin and History of the Willamette Woolen. L. E. Pratt.....	248-259
Fur Trade, The American in the Far West. Hiram Martin Chittenden. (Reviewed).....	260-270
Geography and History (extract from lecture by George L. Hillard, 1845).....	312-313
Historian of the Northwest, Frances Fuller Victor. William A. Morris.....	429-434
Holden, Horace, Recollections of. H. S. Lyman.....	164-217
Husbandry, Sheep, in Oregon. John Minto.....	219-217
Iowa, The Oregon Meeting in. (Document).....	390-393
Jory, James, Reminiscences of. H. S. Lyman.....	271-286
Kentucky, The, Memorial. (Document).....	393-394
Letter of Tallmadge B. Wood.....	394-398
Letters of Peter H. Burnett.....	398-426
Lewis and Clark, "The Conquest,"—The True Story of. E. E. Dye. (Reviewed).....	427-428
Memorial, The Kentucky.....	393-394
Northwest, Historian of the. William A. Morris.....	429-434
Oregon, The, Archives. F. G. Young.....	371-389

	PAGE
Oregon, The First, Cavalry. Frances Fuller Victor.....	123-163
Oregon Central Railroad, The. Joseph Gaston.....	315-326
Oregon, Political History of, from 1865 to 1876. William D. Fenton.....	38- 70
Oregon, Political History of, from 1876 to 1895, inclusive. M. C. George.....	107-122
Oregon Meeting in Iowa. (Document).....	390-393
Oregon, History of the Press of, 1839-1850. George H. Himes.....	327-370
Oregon, Pioneer Land of Promise. (Document).....	311-312
Oregon, Sheep Husbandry in. John Minto.....	219-247
Oregon, The Social Evolution of. J. R. Robertson.....	1- 37
Political History of Oregon from 1865 to 1876. William D. Fenton.....	38- 70
Political History of Oregon from 1876 to 1895, inclusive. M. C. George.....	107-122
Press, History of, of Oregon, 1839-1850. George H. Himes.....	327-370
Railroad, The Oregon Central. Joseph Gaston.....	315-326
Recollections of Grandma (Mrs. Tabitha) Brown. Jane Kinney Smith.....	287-295
Recollections of Horace Holden. H. S. Lyman.....	164-217
Reminiscences of James Jory. H. S. Lyman.....	271-286
Reminiscences of Daniel Knight Warren.....	296-309
Road, The Barlow. Mary S. Barlow.....	71- 81
Sheep Husbandry in Oregon. John Minto.....	219-247
Social Evolution of Oregon, The. J. R. Robertson.....	1- 37
Victor, Frances Fuller, "The Historian of the Northwest." William A. Morris	429-434
Willamette Woolen Factory, The Origin and History of. L. E. Pratt.....	248-259
Warren, Daniel Knight, Reminiscences of. H. S. Lyman.....	296-309
Wood, Tallmadge B., Letter of.....	394-398

VOLUME III]

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THE QUARTERLY

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THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION OF OREGON.

Although Oregon is but thinly populated, clearly defined stages in its development are apparent and may be marked out from the facts already well authenticated. These facts may be grouped in various ways according to the purpose of the writer, but it is evident that the "Social Evolution" of Oregon must be primarily a question of industrial evolution, and the facts must be grouped accordingly.

The acquisition of a livelihood is the motive which operates most powerfully in bringing population together in sufficient numbers to create a social organization of any kind; it is the motive which holds the population together and renders possible that adaptation to environment and integration of elements which result in the various institutions of social life. While industry is in no sense the most important feature of social life, it is, nevertheless, the thing which lies most nearly at the foundation. It bears to the social organism the same rela-

tion that the skeleton does to the animal. The industrial growth of a community depends upon the opportunities presented for the making of a livelihood and the other features of social life, however varied their character or high their aim, depend upon the number and character of the population that is attracted.

A study of the social evolution, therefore, must lead to a study of the physical features of the locality; to the causes which lead to the discovery of its resources; to the characteristics and standards of life of the population that congregates; to the adaptation of population to environment and the integration into community life. Location relative to other centers of population, abundance and variety of resources, character, and standards of life in the population are all to be taken into consideration. The study of social evolution is also one of constant change. The elements of social life are continually shifting with relation to one another. New resources are always being discovered; more population is attracted to a locality; resources and population react upon one another in various ways; population is changed with relation to other centers by new facilities of communication; forceful individuals initiate far-reaching changes and unforeseen events bring into action powerful impulses to development.

In the social evolution of Oregon, locality alone has been responsible for much. Wide separation from the older centers of population has produced that slowness of growth and consequent spirit of conservatism which have characterized the development. Distance also has led in some degree to a sifting of the population. It has brought the vigorous and strong and eliminated the weak. It has kept away much of the foreign European population that has found readier access to the East and the states of the Mississippi Valley.

Climate and abundance of resource have rendered the population of Oregon free from much of that conflict with nature which the settlers of less favored regions have been obliged to experience. Variety of resource has rendered possible that social balance which comes from the constant interplay of a population engaged in different occupations and the compensating action of a city and a country population. A population composed of the sturdy stock of New England and the vigorous frontier settlers of the Middle West has brought to the social life elements of strength.

Location, abundance, and variety of resource have also brought their problems. The elimination of the foreign classes from Europe has deprived the population of a factor very valuable in the development of a new country because of the ability to do work of a burdensome kind that the American shuns. The abundance of resource and the ease of gaining a mere livelihood leads to the problem of a population too easily satisfied and lacking in ambition. Variety has tempted a superficial development of many rather than a thorough development of a few resources; and, lastly, the conditions that bring a population of the sturdiest kind bring also a class of adventurers who injure rather than aid in the social evolution.

The largest place in this paper must naturally be given to the industrial development, since that lies at the foundation of all social evolution. The industrial life of Oregon began with the discovery of its resources. Up to the time that the American colonies began to aspire to separate existence the resources of the whole Northwest were practically unknown. It is true, the explorers of different European nations had passed the coast at intervals for centuries; but they were interested only in looking for that indenture in the shore line which

would promise them a waterway connection between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. Not until Captain Cook, engaged in the more careful exploration of the coast in 1778, do we catch glimpses of any real appreciation of the resources of the country itself. Among many interesting geographical discoveries, he made observations which were to be of greatest importance in the development of the Northwest. The abundance of the fur bearing sea animals along the coast and the islands attracted his attention, as well as that of his crew. The fine furs brought from the interior by the Indians were an indication of an equally valuable supply within the country. The natives preferred the gaudy beads and trinkets, and were willing to exchange the most valuable furs for things of little value. Cook and his crew had learned of the esteem in which the Chinese held the furs, and the human mind was not slow in projecting a business enterprise which would offer a handsome return.¹

The crew that served under Cook became more anxious to engage in the fur trade than to continue the exploration. Especially enthusiastic was one of their number, an American by nationality. John Ledyard was a native of Connecticut, but had joined the English exploring party because of his love of adventure. The profits to be derived from the fur trade of the Northwest had appealed to him with great force.² He continued for two years after the return of Cook's expedition in the British naval service, then deserted from a man-of-war stationed in Long Island Sound. He went from one to another of the moneyed centers of the United States to interest men of capital in the enterprise. In New York he was coldly received, and his proposal was treated as

¹ Greenhow's History of Oregon and California.

² Sparks' Life of John Ledyard.

the dream of a visionary mind. In Philadelphia his welcome was more cordial, and the great banker, Robert Morris, would have sent a vessel to engage in the trade had not financial embarrassments prevented. In Boston the merchants were favorably impressed but not yet ready to act. Indeed, it was a matter to warrant careful consideration. It was a venture that required capital and that moral courage which risks the loss of all in the effort to win reward. There were dangers to be met from the sea, disease, and the hostility of Indians. Failing at last to secure the encouragement of American capital Ledyard went to Europe upon the same mission. In France he was encouraged by a company, but only to be again disappointed. The revolutionary hero, Paul Jones, cordially favored the enterprise and agreed to join in an expedition which also failed. Jefferson, the representative of the American Confederation in Paris, gave intelligent and sympathetic support to the enterprise, and kept the subject in mind long after Ledyard had perished. Failing in every effort to win the support of capital, Ledyard accepted a suggestion of Jefferson and started to cross Europe and Asia, with the purpose of reaching the shore of the Pacific Coast and exploring the country to the Mississippi River. Captured by Russian officers when nearly across Siberia, he was expelled from the country and entered the service of African exploration, where he perished. To the expedition of Captain Cook therefore, and particularly to the enthusiasm of that American member of his crew, the world owes its first knowledge of the resources of Oregon and the Northwest.³

The Russians were best fitted by nature and position to avail themselves immediately of the fur resources.

³ Report of Cook was published 1784.

They already knew the value of the business from experience along their own shores and now extended their operations to the American coast. Vessels from England and a few from other European nations also entered the trade, inspired by the reports from the crew of Cook. The English predominated, but were embarrassed by the monopoly of the Oriental ports, given to the East India Company by England. Gradually the others dropped out and the development of the maritime fur trade was left to the little nation which had just entered upon its national life.

Among the merchants of Boston were some who had for years been interested in the trade with China. The breaking out of the Revolutionary War had interrupted the trade, and it had just begun to be renewed. Embarrassed by the lack of products, which were acceptable to the Chinese in exchange for their own products, they had been obliged to send specie to settle the balances. Of especial interest, therefore, would be the discovery of a product which could be used to further the business already begun. They were accustomed to meet in social intercourse, and generally the conversation would turn to the explorations of Cook and the prospects of the fur trade of the Northwest. When at length the undertaking seemed feasible, six of the merchants furnished the capital necessary to send two vessels to the Northwest coast to engage in the trade.⁴ A silver medal was struck to commemorate the occasion, and under the command of Captains Robert Gray and John Kendricks the "Lady Washington" and the "Columbia" started out upon their memorable and significant voyage in 1787.⁵

After the first trip the representations of Ledyard were

⁴J. Barrell, S. Brown, C. Bulfinch, J. Darby, C. Hatch, J. M. Pintard.

⁵Greenhow's History of Oregon and California.

vindicated. Cargoes of fur were gathered up along the coast at a trifling sum and taken to the market at Canton, where they were sold at a high price. Vessels loading for the return with the teas, silks, and spices of China, carried them to the markets of Europe and America, netting sometimes as high as one thousand per cent upon the capital invested.

All along the coast from Alaska to California the vessels touched and gathered their rich harvest of furs. Stopping at customary points along the shore, the merchants' goods were displayed upon the deck of the vessel and the Indians came out in their canoes to make their exchanges. Skirting along the coast in this way, the merchant vessels of New England carried off the resources of Oregon to add to the enjoyments of the social life of the East. Though the early merchants did not establish themselves within the country nor attempt to further settlement, they were the stimulus which acted as the forerunner of a social life for Oregon. The superficial resources were utilized, and the more latent ones would be sure to be discovered. Their operations extended far to the north of the Oregon coast and far to the south, but they had seen Oregon, and a bond of connection had been established that was to make New England a prominent factor in the social evolution. From that connection were to spring important results. Forceful individuals at critical times came from the population of New England to further the life of Oregon, and her representatives in congress were more outspoken in the interests of a region in which they had an interest.

In another direction the same impulse that had led to the maritime fur trade was to make known the interior resources of the country and inspire to a change in the fur trading methods. Greater permanency was given to them, and the center of fur trading operation was located

within the boundaries of Oregon. Jefferson had remembered the conversations with Ledyard; he, too, had become an enthusiast, not alone in the trade of the Northwest, but even more in the geographical problems that were connected with it. Unable at first to interest explorers in the enterprise, he was able, when he became president, to realize a long cherished desire. It was his influence, therefore, that set in motion an expedition to explore the interior of the country. At the same time that the English were pushing to the west in the northern latitudes Lewis and Clark were commissioned to explore the Louisiana territory, and to continue their journey to the Pacific Ocean. Successful in their mission, the year 1805 found them in winter camp at Clatsop beach busily engaged in writing the notes of their expedition, which was to give to the world for the first time its knowledge of the basin of the Columbia.⁶ This was another stimulus to the development of Oregon. Soon renewed efforts were made to utilize the fur trade in a manner more thorough. The profits of the maritime trade, though still great, were declining. The methods pursued were wasteful of the animal life. A better method was necessary if the fur resources were to be conserved and be the aid, which they had promised to be, in the trade with China.

In this new development of resources Boston was to give place to New York. The effort of Nathan Winship to establish a trading post within the country, some distance from the mouth of the Columbia, was unsuccessful, and John Jacob Astor was destined to lead in the further development. A German by birth, he was an American by residence and interest. A fur trader by instinct, he loved the very smell and feeling of the furs. Largely

⁶Journal of Lewis and Clark.

interested in the trade to the east of the mountains, possessed of abundance of capital, endowed with great ability in organization, he was well fitted for an enterprise of such great magnitude and boldness. In partnership with other fur men he organized the Pacific Fur Company, the first important enterprise to utilize the resources of Oregon from the interior of the country. A fort was established at Astoria in 1811, and plans were made for the development of the business. As a business undertaking it was well conceived. The monopolistic methods of the company would best conserve the fur product, which the older methods were fast exterminating. Connection with the operations east of the mountains would give a continuous trade across the country. Accessibility to the Pacific Coast would insure the trade with China. The Russian traders to the north had expressed a willingness to purchase supplies from the fort at Astoria. Everything seemed favorable for a successful business. Unforeseen events, however, led to failure. The breaking out of the War of 1812 resulted in the appearance of an English vessel before the fort at Astoria; but a sale of the fort and the possessions of the company had already been made to a rival, the English Northwest Fur Company, and what had promised so well ended in failure.⁷ Mr. Astor refused to renew the enterprise unless the United States government would guarantee protection.⁸ As this could not be brought about, because of political complications, the fur trade of the Northwest fell into the hands of the English, who managed to keep control as long as the fur resource formed the prevailing industrial life of Oregon. Various heroic attempts, both by individuals and companies, were made to regain the trade for the Americans,

⁷ Astor's letter to J. Q. Adams in 1823.

⁸ Irving's *Astoria*.

or at least to win an equal share, but they were all unsuccessful. Consolidation of the two rival English fur companies in 1821 under the name of the Hudson Bay Company was the crowning act of the fur trading period. With a capital of \$400,000, and a comprehensive charter from the English government, it virtually possessed the trade of the whole region.⁹ There can be little doubt that the consolidation was a master in the line of business in which it engaged. Removing its headquarters from Astoria to Vancouver it erected forts at the strategic points and soon had within its grasp the entire trade of the basin of the Columbia. Monopolistic in its methods, it was responsible for much of the irritation that marks the early industrial life of Oregon. Its success, however, must be attributed as much to the superiority of its industrial organization and management. In the preservation of order, in the treatment of the native races, in control of its difficult set of employees, in conservation of the fur trading resources, it has probably never been surpassed in the history of the fur trade.

The Hudson Bay Company was an enterprise in which the business interests predominated. Its officers were engaged in developing the resources of a country, wild and remote, because it offered a profit both for themselves and the stockholders who lived in England. The other interests of a social life were incidental rather than essential. A population was brought into the country, but it was small in number and incapable of being molded into anything but a social life that resembled the feudal society of an earlier period in Europe. The gap between the elements of population was great. Among the officers were men fitted to grace the social

⁹ Act of parliament, 1821. In Appendix to Greenhow's History of Oregon and California.

life of any community, while among the employees were reckless characters unfit for any other life than one based upon absolute authority and autocratic rule. Most numerous were the Indian races whose life was undisturbed and whose social standards affected everything about them. The company was interested that such a social life should be continued in the interests of the business, and that a region capable of sustaining a large population should be kept a vast hunting ground fit to support only the few who lived within it and the stockholders whose interest in the region ended with the payment of their dividends. A society of another kind, however, would have been out of place where the fur trading company was in harmony with the surroundings. It was a social and industrial life well adapted to the conditions and did its part in the process of evolution. It will always furnish an interesting period to the student of Oregon history, as it is reviewed with something of the halo which the imagination throws about it. Its place in the industrial evolution is fixed because of its utilization of a superficial resource, but it is fortunate that it gave place in good time to other industries and other forms of social life that were better and higher.

As the product of the fur bearing animals was the determining influence in the first phase of Oregon's social life, the agricultural resources were the determining influence in that of the second. The transition was one from a superficial resource to one more latent,—from an industry adapted to the support of a small population to one capable of supporting large numbers. The transition was so gradual that for years the two industries existed side by side, the one gaining while the other was losing its hold upon the community. The transition was a period of conflict, as the sources of Oregon's early history bear ample evidence. The interpreter of the sources,

however, must, with every year, give less of place to what the earlier historians felt was most important. Periods of conflict in the broad view of social growth are as stimulating and vital to social progress as they are annoying to those who had to undergo the experiences. Conscious efforts were made to discourage the immigration by the creation of impressions unfavorable to the resources of the country and its accessibility. Immigrants already on the way were skillfully diverted wherever possible, and wagons were laid aside at the advice of interested officers of the company.

Efforts to conceal the agricultural resources of the region, however, were of no avail. The fitness of the country for agriculture and the abode of population was destined to be revealed. Everything was tending to make it known. Speeches in congress might reveal an ignorance that would lead to a sacrifice of the country, but other forces were stronger in the opposite direction. The well kept farm of the fur company in the valley of the Cowlitz, adjoining the fort, was itself a demonstration of what could be done. Under the direction of the old Scotch gardener the soil of Oregon produced as responsively as the better known soil of the Royal Gardens at Kew, where he had learned his art. The settlement of the company's ex-employees upon the French Prairie was another proof. The well kept farms of the missionaries, both of the Willamette Valley and east of the mountains, were further indication. The world might not hear of the former, but it was bound to know of the latter. From many sources the news was spread. Letters to friends in the East, articles written to the local press, narratives from travelers, accounts given by fur traders who had been driven from the field, reports made by officers of the government sent to visit the region,

were all influential in making known the agricultural resources of Oregon.

The finding of the resources was one thing and the development was another. A work of heroism was before the people as great as anything ever done. Fortunate was it for the social evolution of Oregon that a population existed equal to the emergency and alert for the effort. The early missionaries had already led the way. They had proved to be genuine pathfinders. Attracted at first by the religious needs of the natives, they had become the central stimulus to settlement. Care for the native races was overbalanced by preparation for their supplanting by the white race. Two streams of population joined on the distant territory. New England, the first mother of Oregon's social life, sent by the old sea route a population which was strong of purpose and possessed of enough capital to become the merchants of new colony.¹⁰ The Mississippi Valley sent a population to till the soil which was full of the vigor of a frontier life and composite of various elements of an American population. To the valley had been coming settlers from both the North and the South as well as some of the foreign element, then beginning to arrive in America.¹¹ It was a population determined to win from the resources of nature a competence and to establish for itself homes. It came to establish a settlement that should be permanent in its character. It was fitted to occupy a region which required a population accustomed to the hardships and the dangers of a frontier life. Any other kind would not have been suited to the conditions and would speedily have given up and contributed nothing to the social evolution.

¹⁰ John Couch established a mercantile business in 1842 at Oregon City.

¹¹ Analysis of pioneer population by George H. Himes.

The first companies were small and the difficulties and dangers were great. Later companies were larger and better organized, and were freed from many of the discomforts and dangers. The migration of 1843, because of the large number that came,¹² may be taken to mark the beginning of an agricultural stage in the industrial life of Oregon. The settlers located in the valley of the Willamette, which seemed most favorable to their purpose and was most free from interference from the native races.

Strangely in contrast with the democratic settlement to the south of the Columbia River was the English enterprise to the north. The organization of the "Puget Sound Agricultural Company" was an attempt to enter the race in the development of the agricultural resources as well as the fur. Modeled after the fur company, owned by the same persons, operated by the same methods, it aimed to secure the settlement of the region to the north of the river. In pursuance of the plan a settlement was started on the land about the Sound in 1842. A method of industrial life, however, that had been successful in the conduct of the fur business, was not equally so in the development of agricultural resources. The aristocratic methods of the English Fur Company were destined to fail in competition with the democratic methods of the American agricultural population. The Americans were better fitted to survive on account of the character of the people, the contiguity of the territory, and their industrial methods. If the English had been able to crowd the Americans out in the fur trade, they, in turn, were to be crowded out in the development of agricultural resources and both sides of the river were to be gained for the democratic system of agricultural life. The colonists of the company to the north appreciated the difference, and

¹² About nine hundred.

many of them drifted south and joined the settlers in the Willamette Valley.¹³

Nothing is of greater importance to an agricultural population than the possession of land. The indefinite tenure that would satisfy the trader in furs was entirely inadequate to the wants of the farmer. Fixity of tenure is the basis of an agricultural life. It is the assurance of a livelihood and the guarantee of a home. For the earliest settlers who came there was no assurance of possession beyond the good will of their fellow-men. So high was the sentiment of honor, however, that violations of good faith were few if any. But the increase of population rendered a more definite system desirable. Tenure to the land became, therefore, a motive in every effort that was made to secure a form of government. The Provisional government was welcome for that reason, as well as others, and no part of the plan was received with greater satisfaction than the land law.¹⁴ It assured the settlers of a tenure to the land upon which they had settled, which rested upon the consent of the community legally expressed and good until a better one could be obtained. When the territorial government was extended over Oregon, anxiety was felt at the action to be taken concerning the land, and the disappointment was great when the bill was reported without a law regarding the land. Contentment was not fully restored until the land law was passed and the settlers knew to what they were entitled and that their tenure was secured by the government of the United States.

Nature had provided a climate and soil that was favorable for the agricultural settler, and the records agree in regard to the phenomenal crops of those early days. But no provision had been made for the auxiliaries of farm-

¹³ Henry Buxton, Forest Grove, one of the settlers on the Sound.

¹⁴ Grover's Archives.

ing. All these had to be introduced from without. The plains were covered with a luxuriant growth of grass, but there were no herds to graze. The climate was favorable for the production of fruit, but there were no trees to plant. One by one the auxiliaries had to be added, often with difficulty, and usually with circumstances of romantic interest. When the prairies of Oregon are covered with stock and the hills are green with orchards, it is hard to realize that it was not always so. Among the many things to note in the social evolution of Oregon, there is nothing that surpasses the pluck and the courage that furnished to so remote a locality the things that are needed for an agricultural existence.

Life for the farmer would have been destitute indeed had there been no cattle. Without them "the plow would have stood idle in the furrow and the young pioneer would have gone hungry to bed."¹⁵ Cattle were grazing in the pastures of the fur company, but they were not for sale. No others could be found nearer than the Spanish missions of California; but they must be obtained in some way, and the earliest of the industrial enterprises of the agricultural period had that for its object. The "Willamette Cattle Company" was organized in 1837, with a capital of a few hundred dollars, to bring to the settlers a herd of Spanish cattle from the missions of California. The enterprise was intrusted to Ewing Young and P. L. Edwards, who started by vessel on their important mission. It was no easy task to make the purchase from the Spaniards, whose policy forbade the sale. At length a herd of about eight hundred was secured and the journey back was begun. From the diary of Edwards we are able to get glimpses of the trials that were endured. Few are the incidents of his-

¹⁵ Matthew P. Deady.

tory to be put beside the attempt to drive eight hundred wild Spanish cattle a distance of a thousand miles across mountains and over rivers. Sleep was rare where the mosquitoes were thick, and the cattle were impelled to "break like so many evil spirits and scatter to the four winds."¹⁶ When the task was completed and over six hundred cattle were finally driven into the valley, it was a time of great rejoicing. All traces of those Spanish cattle have now disappeared from the herds of Oregon, but the time was when the meadows were dotted over with their picturesque forms "as mild looking as gazelles when at rest, but as terrible as an army with banners when alarmed."

The cattle that supplanted the Spanish herds, however, came across the plains with the emigrants. It was an undertaking of the greatest difficulty to drive them two thousand miles through country where pasturage was scanty in places and rivers and mountains were numerous. The task which had been pronounced impossible was accomplished, however, and in 1843 over one thousand cattle were brought to the valley.¹⁷ Superior to the Spanish stock, they displaced them in time. No further lack was felt, and by 1850 the increase was so great that the surplus was shipped to California. The quality was improved from year to year, since selected varieties were brought, and, in many cases, stock of noted breeds. In the records of the early agricultural fairs we read of the Durham and Devon cattle, and the Cotswold, Oxfordshire, Southdown, and Merino sheep as particular attractions of the exhibition.¹⁸ With the introduction of cattle and sheep, not only were the needs

¹⁶ Diary of P. L. Edwards.

¹⁷ Jesse Applegate's "Day With the Cow Column of 1843."

¹⁸ Pamphlet report of Agricultural Society of Oregon, 1861.

of the farmer supplied, but the beginning was made of an industry that was able to exist independently. It formed the easiest method of making a living, and the herder with long lariat riding through the deep grass of the valley was a familiar sight in the earlier days before the number of agricultural settlers and the cultivation of the soil drove them to the prairies of the south and east. It has proved to be an industry which has added to the wealth of Oregon, and affected in other ways its social life. Regions that would otherwise have remained unsettled have contributed to the resources, and a population independent and hardy has been added to the state.

As auxiliary to farming the production of fruit began. When the earliest settlers came orchards of choice fruit were growing on the property of the fur company. Like the cattle, however, they were not destined for the service of the settler. The earliest of the orchards of Oregon took their start from the "traveling nursery" of Henderson Luelling.¹⁹ Unable to dispose to advantage of the nursery of young trees, when he was ready to start, this plucky man packed them in boxes and brought them across the continent. Importuned many times to abandon a load so heavy and cumbersome he always refused, and had the satisfaction of setting them out upon his claim at the end of the route. This choice selection of apples, cherries, plums, and pears brought into the community health and wealth and the promise of another industry for Oregon. From an auxiliary of farming the raising of fruit has come to be the means of a livelihood to many of the population, and with each year draws more to the state.

Could the facts be obtained there would be interest attached to the introduction of all of the auxiliaries to

¹⁹ Hon. R. C. Geer, in his address before the pioneer association.

farming. Stock of various kinds was added. Cereals, fruits, and vegetables were brought to add to the necessities and comforts of an agricultural community. Tools, though heavy and often cumbersome, were carried across the plains or around the Horn by vessel. The agricultural life was fully established. Soon spots of cultivated land began to appear in various places. Roads were marked out and constructed between the different claims and settlements. Political divisions appeared upon the map. Groups of settlers collected at points most favorable for distribution. Supplies were secured at the warehouse of the fur company or from the merchants of Oregon City. Surplus crops were sold to the fur company at a regular price of sixty-two and one half cents per bushel. Population increased with every year and Oregon was fully transformed into an agricultural community. A form of industrial life had been started that has characterized the country ever since. It was established to last, and the only question of importance could be whether it would grow or stagnate. Far from the other centers of population, there was little to connect it with the industrial life of the rest of the country or of the world. It could easily exist, but the possibilities of development were not encouraging. The only market was the fur company. Destitute emigrants were continually arriving to increase the population, but to add little to the capital or the wealth. The dangerous entrance to the Columbia River kept out the few vessels that might otherwise have come. A critical period in the life of the colony was reached by 1847. Depression was the general feeling prevalent. The settlers organized among themselves a little company to build ships and seek by themselves to break the isolation of their position.

Such was the situation when an unforeseen event occurred that changed the whole aspect of affairs. In the

summer of 1848 the "Honolulu" entered the little harbor at Portland. She loaded with picks and pans and other utensils useful to a mining population. When leaving, the crew mentioned the discovery of gold on American Creek by James Marshall, an Oregon man in the employ of Sutter at his famous mill in California. The discovery was confirmed and soon the male population of the colony was off for the gold fields. Travelers of that day tell us that the towns were inhabited mainly by old men, women and children. Crops were left standing in the fields, though the time of harvest was near. Indian troubles were forgotten, though a war was in progress on the frontier of the settlement. The *Oregon Spectator* was unable to get out its regular issues because of the lack of hands to do the work. The Provisional government was unable to get a quorum for the meeting of the legislature though there were important matters needing attention. Men even left their children to the care of benevolent women, who looked after the "orphans of 1848."²⁰

It was evident that a change had taken place. A new impulse had entered the community like a strong tonic. Men who had gone to the mines began to return. Many of them had been successful and brought back enough to discharge obligations that had been resting over them for years. Others returned with added facility for extending their business. A market was established for the surplus products. Flour- and sawmills were kept running day and night. Vessels now took no heed of the dangerous entrance to the Columbia, but waited in line for their turn to load. Those who remained at home gained as much as those who went and were surer of getting it. Prices ranged high. Discouragement was

²⁰ Tabitha Brown was teacher of school for such orphans in Forest Grove.

dispelled and hope rose quickly to take its place. The industrial and social life of Oregon had received an impulse that was significant in its development.

The effects of the discoveries of 1848 were a strange mixture of good and bad for the community. Nothing so stirs to its foundation a community as the discovery of the precious metals. Many of the population of Oregon were unsettled in their industrial habits. The old and steady lines of industry were deserted for the chances of larger rewards. Emigration was turned to the newer settlements of California. Immediate relief from the isolated condition had been obtained, but a rival had been established to the south, whose attractions were destined to lead to speedy settlement. With the rapid growth of that community Oregon saw the hope of a connection by railroad with the East slipping away and a position of subordination to California gradually forced upon her. The markets, at first established, failed to bring the large returns when the supplies were being produced nearer to the point of consumption. A speculative spirit invaded the industrial life. Undesirable characters were brought into the country by the rush for gold. The Indians alarmed at the growing numbers and the irritating acts became hostile. Such were some of the objectionable features of the new influence that had entered the community.

In the long run, however, it must be counted as an advance in the industrial and social evolution. A center of population had been established where there had been nothing that was of benefit to Oregon. Wealth and capital were added to the community. If population that was undesirable came much also that was helpful drifted northward and entered the steadier life of Oregon in preference to the less certain life of the mining region. If some were upset and turned from a steadier life to one

of search for precious metals, others were aroused to a healthy zeal for progress. A stimulus was given to the search for the latent resources of Oregon which led to the discovery not only of deposits of the precious metals, but to other resources that have proved fully as important and valuable. As the search was extended to Eastern Oregon the mineral resources grew richer. In 1868 quartz mining supplanted the superficial processes previously used, and an industry of a permanent character was thus established which has added yearly to the wealth and been a means of attracting inhabitants to the state. The establishment of mining camps and the growth of towns and cities gave opportunity for the utilization of the agricultural facilities which had been found to exist in the region east of the mountains. Settlement was directed to other sections beside the Willamette Valley and the distribution of population thus changed to a more even ratio throughout the state. Hardly yet has the older population awakened to the consciousness of the change and responded to the demands made by it.

The effect of the stimulus of 1848 was apparent in a multitude of ways. The discovery of resources was accompanied by a better utilization of the old. Other industries beside those connected with the mineral resources were established. Manufactures were developed, and a varied industrial life was guaranteed to Oregon. Population was attracted by the new branches of business that would never have joined the population of a strictly agricultural region. Flouring mills increased both in number and capacity. The bountiful resources of timber were more fully utilized. Woolen mills were started to make use of the supply of wool. The canning of salmon supplanted the earlier form of packing in barrels. Tanneries utilized the resources in hides. Investment was found for capital and labor had employment.

Towns and cities increased in number and in size. Social life had broadened in every way.

With the readjustments that followed the discovery of gold a forward step was taken in the evolution, but the isolation of position had not been overcome. Soon the conditions of an earlier time returned. Though less apparent, they were just as real and urged to further progress. Already the people had felt the need, and forces were at work to liberate the community from its isolation and to continue in the line of growth.

None of the forces in the industrial evolution of Oregon is more significant than the efforts to utilize the high seas as an avenue of approach to the markets of the world. Nearest to Oregon were the ports of Asia. From the time that the early merchants of Boston carried the furs to the market of Canton a strange link existed between the social evolution of Oregon and the markets of the Orient. When the Chinese nobles trimmed their robes with the furs of the animals that live in the forests of the northwest of America, they established a bond of union that was destined to strengthen until the large populations of Asia should become ready to receive the surplus products that the growing population of Oregon and the whole Pacific Coast were anxious to supply. Following the opening of the ports of China by England in 1842, and of Japan by Commodore Perry in 1854, a closer industrial relation has been gradually established, which the people of Oregon have come to feel is inseparably connected with the industrial welfare of the state.

Of equal importance was the first cargo that was sent to the market at Liverpool in 1868, and led the way to an export trade which solves, in a large measure, the question of Oregon's continued evolution. To Joseph Watt, whose courage made the venture, a large place must be given among those who have contributed to the

growth of Oregon. The change that has been wrought by the acquisition of a European market for the products has not been one of those striking events that please the fancy, but it has been a gradual force working with ever increasing power to draw Oregon out of her isolation and into the stream of industrial life that insures prosperity and growth.

Equally important among the forces that destroyed the isolation of Oregon has been the construction of railroads. Among the early colonists of 1848 a transcontinental line was a hope which they even dared to express in their petitions to congress. It was many years, however, before such a proposal could even receive consideration, and when the time finally came the conditions were more favorable to California, where the Central Pacific found its terminus rather than in Oregon. Henceforth the ambitions of Oregon turned toward a connection with California, and by that channel with the East.

Long before the country was ready for such an enterprise, projects were entertained for railroads. Previous to 1853 four lines had been contemplated, and in one case the books had been opened for subscriptions of stock. The action that was destined to materialize earliest into tangible form was the survey that was made by Joseph Gaston of a line to continue that made by a Californian to the border of Oregon.²¹ Gaston started the enterprise upon his own responsibility. Possessed of little capital, it was his purpose to enlist the support of farmers along the route, and circular letters were addressed to them. Trusting to their interest to furnish food and shelter for the surveying party, he was fully rewarded by a generous response, and seldom have similar parties fared better.

²¹ Gaston's Railroad Development of Oregon, quoted by Bancroft in History of Oregon.

No criticisms that opponents could offer discouraged this persevering man. He continued to send circulars to the farmers and petitions to the legislature, until finally it was voted to grant a subsidy of \$250,000 to the company that would construct the first hundred miles of road. A company was organized and a charter granted under the name of the "Oregon Central." Before the work of construction began a division arose in regard to the policy of construction by Oregon interests or the more abundant capital of California. Reconciliation was impossible, and two enterprises took the place of the one. The opposing factions planned to construct roads upon opposite sides of the Willamette River, and began a long and bitter rivalry. Curious methods were resorted to by each to get within the terms of the charter and to gain the right to the original name of "Oregon Central." Both were anxious to get the grants of land which had been promised by the United States government.

Construction was begun by the two divisions in the spring of 1868. The west side line was first to start amidst demonstrations of approval by the population of Portland favorable to their interests. A few days later the east side line began construction with even greater demonstration of approval. Neither of the factions had much money to back their enterprise. Skillful financiering was necessary to keep the men at work. Bitter litigation was in progress all the time, but still they kept on with the construction. The west side road at first seemed to have a little the better of the conflict. Conditions were changed with the appearance on the scene of a gentleman from California in 1868. In the person of Ben Holladay the east side road had secured a master in his line of business. Bold and autocratic in his methods, regardless of the feelings of others, unscrupulous in the methods pursued, he was able to crush the west side

division and force it to sell its interests to him. Under the united management of the "Oregon and California Railroad," therefore, the lines were continued on both sides of the river.²² Bonds floated in the German market gave abundance of capital at first. Interest on the bonds began at length to fail, an investigation was made, and the affairs of the road were transferred to other hands in 1876. In the person of Henry Villard, a man of broader views and more tactful methods, undertook the development of railroad interests. The whole policy was enlarged. The development of the roads of Oregon was to him an effort to develop the roads of the nation. His interests were not local. Fortunate was it for the industrial and social evolution of Oregon that the railroad interests fell to the lot of such a man. His own financial position was wrecked in the undertaking, but the system of railroads which have formed the basis of Oregon's growth and prosperity was started by him. The construction of the "Northern Pacific Railroad," the building of the "Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company's" line through the valley of the Columbia, the extension of the "Oregon and California Railroad" nearer to the border of the neighboring state, were all parts of the comprehensive plan. First to be achieved was the construction of the Northern Pacific, which gave Oregon its long desired connection with the East, and acted as a stimulus to the development of the system of railroads as they now exist. Connection between the "Oregon Railway and Navigation Company's" line and the "Union Pacific," and the purchase of the "Oregon and California" line by the "Southern Pacific Railroad" in 1887, added two more lines of transportation across the continent and effectively broke the isolation of Oregon from

²² Lang's History of the Willamette Valley.

other sections of the East. Smaller lines were constructed to the productive valleys and seaport towns, and the different parts of the state were joined together and brought nearer to the markets and points of shipping. That the change was realized is evident from the following words of the president of the Portland Board of Trade, spoken on the occasion of the completion of the Northern Pacific in 1884: "At present we are in the very midst of a commercial event of phenomenal importance; an event which welds us forever to the other parts of the country,—the union of the East and the West. The significance of the change is yet scarcely apparent, but a rapid adjustment of our business methods to the new order of things is necessary. Hitherto we have occupied what might be called an insular position, with insular advantages and insular prejudices; but now we are incorporated with the rest of the Union and must adopt the methods that elsewhere prevail." The popular approval and appreciation was manifested by a monster procession in which the principal object of interest was an old pioneer caravan with every detail depicted in realistic manner. Old weather beaten wagons were prominent; household utensils were mingled with tow-headed babies and bear cubs; men walked beside the wagons to protect, with their rifles, from imaginary harm, while a band of Warm Spring Indians followed with war whoop and flourish of tomahawks.

From the completion of the transcontinental lines the growth of industrial life has been steady and permanent. Isolation has been destroyed. Remoteness of location, however, has not been entirely overcome, and the process of evolution is not complete. The law of social growth has signified in the past that every step toward progress requires the taking of another, and already the interest

of Oregon's population is centered on the construction of an interoceanic canal to shorten the waterway connection with her markets.

In the social evolution of Oregon it is necessary that many questions should arise that are closely connected with the industrial life. The prosperity of every community is identified with questions of an economic nature. In the first place the welfare of every community depends upon the harmonious relation of capital and labor. In the history of Oregon there has been little to mar the pleasant relation existing between the two. Capital has never been so abundant as to menace the interests of labor nor has labor ever been so abundant as to be independent of capital. Strikes that have occurred have been of small size and not aggravated in character. Both capital and labor have needed the help of the other and have united in the development of the resources of a new country. Oregon is yet so young that the men of wealth have grown to be such from an early start as laborers. Every man feels that his chance is equal to that of every other man more fully in a new community than elsewhere.

The only question which has marred the harmony has been a conflict between the white laborers and the Chinese. Such conflicts have been less frequent and of milder nature than in the history of both California and Washington. Brought into the state during the time of railroad construction, the Chinese performed a valuable service and undoubtedly assisted in the industrial development in a very important manner. The legislation of the community, however, from an early time shows a discrimination against them and their privileges are limited even in the constitution of the state. Living, as they do, by themselves and preserving their own habits and standards of life, they do not assimilate with the

other population. Together with the Indians they form a novel element in the social life.

The industrial prosperity of a community is inseparably connected with the question of a medium of exchange and standard of value. Money is indispensable to the existence of industrial life in any important sense, and the amount and the kind of money means progress or decline and marks the community as industrially sound or unsafe. In the early days of the fur trade exchanges were made in the terms of the skin of the beaver, the animal most numerous in the valley of the Columbia. When the agricultural resources were utilized the bushel of wheat took its place beside the beaver skin as a standard of value. Convenience soon led to the use of orders upon the Hudson Bay Company or the stores of the agricultural settlement. They served the purposes of a medium of exchange for the simple transactions of an early time. Metallic money was scarce at first. Occasionally a barrel of silver would be brought into the region to pay the crew of some ship. Much of it would get into circulation and thus be added to medium of exchange. Here and there could be found the coins of Mexico and Peru. With the discovery of gold in California the dust became abundant. It was not, however, able to command as much in exchange as the same amount of gold in the form of coin. This fact led to one of the most interesting events in the monetary and industrial history of Oregon, the coining of the "Beaver money" in 1849. An act of the Provisional legislature was passed authorizing the coinage of gold. Before it could be carried into effect the Provisional government was supplanted by the territorial, and the plan seemed to be defeated. Some, however, were not willing to see it fail, and formed a private company to undertake the enterprise.²³ As it had

²³ Oregon Exchange Company.

never been submitted to the government of the United States, for license, it was unconstitutional in form. In every other particular it was eminently regular. The little mint was not possessed of the necessary appliances to render the coins uniform in quality or color, but they were scrupulously accurate in the amount of gold which they contained. Never had the mints of the national government created a more honest coin. When they were called in later by the mint at San Francisco they were found to contain eight per cent more gold than the standard coins of the United States.²⁴ This money received the name of "Beaver" from the stamp placed upon one side of the coin. Altogether about \$30,000 of this money was coined in denominations of five and ten-dollar coins.

The Oregon community throughout its history has favored metallic money. The notes which the Provisional government sometimes gave in return for its obligations and agreed to receive in payment of obligations to itself is the nearest that Oregon ever came to a paper currency. No state institutions were ever organized to issue paper money because such privilege has been denied by the wisdom of the framers of the constitution and Oregon has been spared the evils of a currency which figured in the history of so many of our commonwealths. Even during the time of the civil war, when paper money was issued and every appeal to patriotism would urge to its use, Oregon remained essentially upon a metallic basis, by the passage of a special contract law,²⁵ enacted in imitation of a similar policy in California. Financial heresies have not taken root in the industrial life of Oregon and the social evolution has profited thereby.

²⁴ Ex-Governor G. L. Curry. Address to pioneer association.

²⁵ Copy of special contract act.

Few things so stamp a people as the ideas held in regard to money.

Population congregating in any locality for the purpose of making a livelihood soon organizes itself into a political society, for man is a "political animal." Industrial life can not exist without some form of civil government. In the early period of the fur trade this function was supplied by the company, and particularly its officers. It was of an autocratic type, but rendered substantial justice, and was able to secure a most excellent order in circumstances that might easily have been disorderly. No region so remote from civilization was ever more safe for the traveler than the territory under the jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company.

Its ideals, however, were not sufficient for the democratic settlers who came to pursue an agricultural life. At a very early date justices of the peace were appointed in the mission settlement in the Willamette Valley. The formation of the Provisional government in 1843 was a long step in advance, and must mark one of the important stages in the social evolution of Oregon. It is one of the finest examples to be found of the resourcefulness of the American frontier settler. Although temporary in character, it sufficed to keep the region in trust until events could so shape themselves that the United States could extend over the region a territorial form of government. This again was a forward step in the social evolution. At first sight it may seem that it was little more than a change from Governor Abernethy to Lane, but it marked a greater change than that. It was the realization of something long desired; it attached the population of Oregon to that of the republic. The social life expanded with the very thought; the social life and habits that prevailed in the republic were to prevail in Oregon; the nation was henceforth to aid in the develop-

ment of Oregon, and the resources of Oregon were to be added to those of the nation ; national soldiers were to help the colonists in their struggles against the Indians, and in time of need the soldiers of Oregon were to defend the interests of the nation.

The establishment of statehood in 1859 was the logical end of political evolution. A community can attain to nothing higher than to achieve a place in the council of the nation. It is both a benefit to be enjoyed and an obligation to be honorably met. If Oregon, in the past, has occupied a subordinate place in the development of national life, her position grows more important with the changes that are occurring, and her opportunity to take a more prominent part in national affairs grows greater.

Connection with the life of the nation brought with it the questions of national importance. Oregon always had its local party questions ; but now it was to share in the great problems that stirred national feeling to its depths. The population of Oregon had established a reputation for political interest. An early California paper said that there were two occupations in Oregon, "agriculture and politics." The politics of the earlier days was one-sided. The population was affiliated with the democratic party. But how could it be otherwise when that was the party which had included the men who had taken the greatest interest in the development of Oregon. The party of Jefferson, of Floyd and Benton, of Monroe and Linn, of Douglas and Polk, was not unfittingly the party of the colonists. In the whole history of the territorial government there was but one whig governor and his term of office was not a pleasant one. Mr. Lincoln was doubtless discreet when he replied to the president, who offered him the governorship of the Oregon territory, "No sir-ee."

The establishment of the *Oregonian*, under the editorship of Mr. Dryer, marked a change in the political sentiment of the population. With the growth of the whig party the early political conditions were changed.

With the growing prominence of the slavery question and the formation of the republican party the change became greater still and the majority were ranged on the side that stood for the Union and against the institution of slavery. Every interest of Oregon became in some way involved in this great question, as in fact did the interests of every commonwealth. There was a strong Southern element in the population that had come from Missouri and there was some hope that the public opinion of Oregon might be made to count for secession and slavery. General Lane, a favorite son of Oregon, was candidate for the vice presidency upon the extreme Southern ticket. Nothing redounds more to the credit of Oregon than her stand against slavery and secession. The vote taken at the time that the question of slavery was submitted to the people for action, previous to the submission of a constitution to congress for ratification, shows the division of opinion, while the clause still kept in the constitution prohibiting free negroes is a historic reminder of the sensitive Southern spirit that could not endure to look upon a free negro if prohibited from keeping one in bondage.²⁶

A study of the social evolution of a community would not be complete without some mention of the institutions which arise among a population in response to the higher needs. Those impulses which lead to the broadening of the mental and the deepening of the moral nature are of

²⁶ Vote on slavery: Seven thousand seven hundred against slavery; two thousand two hundred for slavery. Vote on free negroes: Eight thousand six hundred against free negroes.—Bancroft's History.

utmost importance to a community. In the accomplishment of this work the community mainly looks to three institutions—the public press, the church, and the school.

It was a significant event in the higher life of the people when the first printing press was brought from the Sandwich Islands in 1839 and given to the mission at Lapwai. It marked the beginning of a movement that was to be a powerful agent in stimulating mental activity and in molding public opinion and moral sentiment. The establishment of the *Oregon Spectator* in 1846 brought into existence a journal that served the needs of the primitive colony. Joined by the *Free Press*, there was little development until 1850, when the establishment of the *Oregonian*, and a few months later, in 1851, of the *Statesman*, led to a stimulus that was to be felt throughout the succeeding years. Other journals of a more local character followed and each has performed its part in the social evolution. In the pages of these journals is to be found the completest record of every stage of development in Oregon's life. The public questions which have agitated the community are all seen reflected in vigorous language and with the coloring of the times in which they were living matters. Bringing to the population of a community the record of events and questions of a common interest, the newspaper has served to create a spirit of community life, and the news from distant parts of the world has broadened the life of those who have come in contact with it.

For the creation of a moral and religious sentiment among the early population of Oregon events were favorable. In the period of the fur trade distinctly religious influences were not prominent, but there was a higher moral tone than usually exists under similar circumstances. The officers of the fur company were men of high character. Intemperance and immorality were dis-

couraged and prevented as far as possible. Religious services were conducted on Sundays at the fort in Vancouver. Foremost among the impulses to a high standard of moral life must be mentioned the coming of the missionaries. Seeking in the first place to serve the native races they were equally effectual in preparing a condition more favorable to the white man. Strong and zealous they exerted a lasting influence upon the life of the community. Without distinction of denomination their influence was beneficial. It is true there was much of conflict between the Catholics and Protestants in the early days, but the conflict that grew from a zeal to secure for the community the things that each thought essential was a better foundation upon which to build than the moral lethargy which characterizes the beginning of many communities. It is true that the efforts of the religious leaders to direct affairs of the community life favorably to the interests in which they believed, were often annoying to the settlers who cared little for religion, but it nevertheless sufficed to prevent many of the abuses which so easily creep into a community where there is too little watchfulness.

With the organization of the first Catholic Church at Champoege in 1839, and the Protestant churches by the Methodists and Congregationalists at Oregon City in 1842 and 1844, began an organized movement which, regardless of tenets of belief, was to be a potent factor in the development of that moral fibre in community life which is its most valuable possession. Various denominations arose among the population, and there was not always the unity most favorable to best results. Centers of influence, however, were started, which later development has ever been striving to unify. Though the moral foundations were firmly laid, conditions of a growing community have not been most favorable to a development

proportional to that in other lines. Absorption in the pursuit of material interests, shifting of population, thin distribution over a wide area, independence from the restraining influences of the older communities, are influences to be met and overcome in the evolution of religious and moral life. A church membership for Oregon considerable below the average of that for the United States, and a crime rate a little above, are indications of a condition that should render the serious mind thoughtful and alert to seek for every stimulus to a development at least equal if not greater than that of the industrial and political life.²⁷

With the educational institutions, our brief study of the evolution of the community may fitly end. In the schools of any locality are the centers of influence that are most effective in producing social progress in things that pertain to the higher life. Beginning with the institutions established by the missionaries, the growth has been steady though slow; beginning with the schools for the native races and the children of the settlers, academies and colleges were added generally in advance of the needs rather than in response to a demand. First of the higher schools was the Oregon Institute, which was created in the cabin of "Lausanne" before the missionaries had touched the shore of Oregon.²⁸ In the following year an academy was founded upon the plains of the Tualatin, and earliest among the acts of the territorial legislature was the establishment of the public schools. From these beginnings other institutions have been started both by the different denominations and the state. Each in turn has been a center of influence in the evolution of the community, and from facilities, in

²⁷ United States Census Report for 1890.

²⁸ Catalogue of Willamette University.

most cases meager indeed, strong leaders have received the stimulus that enabled them to perform the work that they have done. Among the builders of the social life of Oregon credit should be awarded to the men who, through sacrifice, made possible the greatest stimulus to good that a community can possess.

JAMES R. ROBERTSON.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF OREGON FROM 1865 TO 1876.

By WM. D. FENTON.

II.

On February 24, 1873, the Board of Capitol Building Commissioners was organized with John F. Miller, president, and plans for a state capitol prepared by Krumbein & Gilbert were adopted; and pursuant to the joint resolution of the legislature of 1872 the commission selected block 84 in Salem as the site, the selection being made May 13, 1873, and the foundation of the present state capitol was laid May 17 of that year. An appropriation of \$100,000 was made in 1872, and the building was completed so as to be occupied by the legislature in September, 1876. The building commissioners were Henry Klippel, Samuel Allen, and E. L. Bristow.

The legislative assembly for the year 1874 convened September 14, and concluded its labors October 23. This was the eighth biennial session. R. B. Cochran, of Lane, was elected president of the senate, and John C. Drain was elected speaker of the house. Among the prominent members of the senate mention may be made of John Myers, of Clackamas; J. F. Watson, of Douglas; J. N. Dolph, of Multnomah; T. R. Cornelius, of Washington; R. B. Cochran, of Lane; Dr. James A. Richardson, of Marion, and Sol Hirsch, of Multnomah. Among the members of the house of prominence may be mentioned the names of C. G. Chandler, of Baker; James Bruce, of Benton; G. W. Riddle, John C. Drain, and D. W.

Stearns, of Douglas ; W. J. Plymale, of Jackson ; F. X. Matthieu and A. N. Gilbert, of Marion ; Raleigh Stott and John M. Gearin, of Multnomah ; E. B. Dufur and Robert Mays, of Wasco ; Lee Laughlin, E. C. Bradshaw, and William Galloway, of Yamhill. On September 17, 1874, the legislative assembly, in joint convention, canvassed the vote of the state for governor at the general election in 1874, which resulted as follows: L. F. Grover, democrat, nine thousand seven hundred and thirteen ; T. F. Campbell, independent, six thousand five hundred and thirty-two ; J. C. Tolman, republican, nine thousand one hundred and sixty-three votes ; showing a plurality in favor of L. F. Grover over T. F. Campbell, three thousand one hundred and eighty-one, and over J. C. Tolman of five hundred and fifty. The oath of office was administered to the governor-elect by B. F. Bonham, then chief justice. At that session Henry Klippel, R. P. Boise, and H. Stapleton were elected capitol building commissioners to serve for the ensuing term of two years.

The legislative assembly for the year 1876 convened September 11. John Whiteaker was elected president of the senate, and J. K. Weatherford speaker of the house. Among the new members of the senate elected that year mention may be made of the names of G. W. Colvig, of Douglas ; T. A. Davis and M. C. George, of Multnomah ; A. S. Watt, of Washington ; E. C. Bradshaw, of Yamhill ; John Myers, of Clackamas, and John Whiteaker, of Lane. On September 19, 1876, the senate voted for United States senator, and Jesse Applegate received seven votes ; L. F. Grover, twenty ; T. F. Campbell, one ; J. W. Nesmith, one ; and on the next day in joint convention Grover received forty-four votes ; Nesmith, eleven ; Applegate, thirty-two, and Campbell, two. On Friday, September 22, Applegate received thirty-three votes ; Nesmith, five ; Grover, forty-eight, and Camp-

bell, four; and L. F. Grover was declared duly elected senator for six years from March 4, 1877. J. F. Watson was elected judge of the second judicial district over J. M. Thompson by a vote of three thousand two hundred and sixty-two to three thousand and sixty-nine. R. P. Boise judge of the third judicial district over B. F. Bonham by a vote of four thousand two hundred and thirteen to four thousand and thirty-eight. L. L. McArthur was elected judge of the fifth judicial district without opposition, receiving three thousand five hundred and forty-one votes. At this election H. K. Hanna was elected district attorney of the first judicial district over C. B. Watson by one thousand one hundred and sixty to nine hundred and seventy-five; and S. H. Hazard in the second judicial district over W. B. Higby by a vote of three thousand two hundred and thirty to three thousand one hundred and fifty-seven; and in the third judicial district George H. Burnett over W. M. Ramsey, four thousand one hundred and eighteen to four thousand and twenty-five; in the fourth judicial district Raleigh Stott over F. R. Strong by a vote of three thousand four hundred and seventy-seven to two thousand nine hundred and fifty-six; and in the fifth judicial district L. B. Ison over Robert Eakin by a vote of two thousand three hundred and seventy-six to one thousand nine hundred and thirty-one.

A state census for the year 1875 showed a population of one hundred and four thousand nine hundred and twenty, excluding Indians and Chinese. The total cost of the state house up to August 31, 1876, as shown by the Board of Capitol Building Commissioners, is \$201,728.63. At a special election held October 25, 1875, for representative in the forty-fourth congress, L. F. Lane received nine thousand three hundred and seventy-three votes; Henry Warren, nine thousand one hundred and

six; G. M. Whitney, eight hundred and thirty-seven; G. W. Dimmick, three hundred and forty-five; and scattering, thirteen votes.

Speaking of the railroad contest, it may be mentioned that on April 6, 1866, the east side road had its opening ceremonies in honor of its work of construction. The celebration occurred about three fourths of a mile from the Stark-street ferry landing at East Portland, and about five hundred rods from the east bank of the Willamette River, not far from where the old asylum for the insane stood, near what is now East Twelfth and Hawthorne Avenue. It is said that in honor of the event flags were flying from every available flagstaff in the city. Processions were formed in the city and marched to the spot, preceded by the Aurora Brass Band. The orator of the day was Hon. John H. Mitchell. It is estimated that five thousand people were present. The shovel used bore on it a beautiful silver plate, attached to the front of the handle, with this inscription: "Presented by Sam M. Smith to the Oregon Central Railroad Company, Portland, April 16, 1868. Ground broken with this shovel for the first railroad in Oregon." President Moores drove the first stake and threw out the first sod in the construction of the Oregon Central Railroad, now the Oregon and California, amid the huzzas of the multitude.

At the general election held on the first day of June, 1868, Joseph S. Smith, democrat, received eleven thousand seven hundred and fifty-four votes, and David Logan, republican, ten thousand five hundred and fifty-five votes.

The total assessed value of the state for the year 1866 was \$25,560,312.63, and for the year 1875, \$41,436,086.

A brief history of the various state conventions, and of the political issues tendered thereby, may not be without interest. The democratic state convention met at

Portland April 5, 1866, and nominated James D. Fay of Jackson for congress on the sixth ballot, over Joseph S. Smith, who at one time had fifty-nines votes to his five; Gates, twenty-four. James K. Kelly of Wasco was nominated for governor; L. F. Lane of Multnomah for secretary of state; John C. Bell of Marion for state treasurer; James O'Meara for state printer; P. P. Prim judge of the first judicial district; James R. Neil prosecuting attorney of the first judicial district; George B. Dorris prosecuting attorney of the second judicial district; J. W. Johnson of Marion prosecuting attorney of the third judicial district, and James H. Slater of Union prosecuting attorney of the fifth judicial district.

On March 19, 1868, the democratic state convention met at Oro Fino Hall, in Portland, Oregon, and nominated Joseph S. Smith of Marion for congress; S. F. Chadwick, John Burnett, and J. H. Slater presidential electors, and instructed the delegates to the national convention to vote for George H. Pendleton for president. The convention met and nominated W. G. T'Vault for prosecuting attorney of the first judicial district; L. F. Mosher judge and R. S. Strahan prosecuting attorney of the second judicial district; W. F. Trimble judge and J. H. Reed prosecuting attorney of the fourth judicial district; William B. Laswell prosecuting attorney of the fifth judicial district.

The democratic state convention which met at Albany, Oregon, March 23, 1870, nominated James H. Slater for congress; L. F. Grover for governor; S. F. Chadwick secretary of state; L. Fleischner treasurer; Thomas Patterson state printer; B. F. Bonham judge and N. L. Butler prosecuting attorney of the third judicial district; R. E. Bybee prosecuting attorney of the fourth judicial district; L. L. McArthur judge and W. B. Laswell prose-

cuting attorney of the fifth judicial district ; A. J. Thayer judge of the second judicial district.

The democratic convention which met at The Dalles Wednesday, April 10, 1872, elected James W. Nesmith chairman, and nominated John Burnett of Benton for congress ; George R. Helm of Linn, L. F. Lane of Douglas, and N. H. Gates of Wasco presidential electors ; P. P. Prim judge and J. R. Neil district attorney of the first judicial district ; C. W. Fitch district attorney of the second judicial district ; J. J. Shaw district attorney of the third judicial district ; C. B. Bellinger district attorney of the fourth judicial district, and W. B. Laswell district attorney of the fifth judicial district.

The democratic convention which met Wednesday, March 18, 1874, at Albany, nominated L. F. Grover for governor ; George A. LaDow of Umatilla for congress ; S. F. Chadwick for secretary of state ; A. H. Brown for treasurer ; M. V. Brown for state printer ; E. J. Dawne superintendent of public instruction ; William B. Laswell prosecuting attorney of the fifth judicial district ; L. F. Mosher judge of the second judicial district ; C. W. Fitch district attorney of the second judicial district ; H. K. Hanna district attorney of the first judicial district, and J. J. Whitney district attorney of the third judicial district.

The democratic convention which met Wednesday, April 26, 1876, at Salem, elected Henry Klippel chairman, and nominated L. F. Lane for congress by acclamation ; B. F. Bonham judge of the third judicial district ; W. M. Ramsey district attorney of the third judicial district ; F. R. Strong district attorney of the fourth judicial district ; H. K. Hanna district attorney of the first judicial district ; L. B. Ison district attorney of the fifth judicial district ; S. H. Hazard district attorney of the second judicial district ; L. L. McArthur

judge of the fifth judicial district, and J. M. Thompson judge of the second judicial district. Henry Klippel of Jackson, W. B. Laswell of Grant, and E. A. Cronin of Multnomah were nominated as presidential electors. The election for congressman at this time occurred November 7, 1876, at which Richard Williams, the republican candidate, received fifteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven votes and Lafayette Lane, democrat, received fourteen thousand two hundred and twenty-nine votes. The republican electors were W. H. Odell, J. W. Watts, and J. C. Cartwright, and received an average vote of fifteen thousand two hundred and six against the democratic vote of fourteen thousand one hundred and thirty-six. Growing out of the fact that J. W. Watts was at the time of his election postmaster at Lafayette, and of the further fact that the presidential election was close and that several states of the South were contested, there was a contest made by E. A. Cronin as to the right to issue the electoral certificate in favor of J. W. Watts. A change of one electoral vote would have resulted in the election of Samuel J. Tilden as president and Thomas A. Hendricks as vice president of the United States instead of Rutherford B. Hayes, president, and William A. Wheeler, vice president. The electoral commission created by act of congress refused to sustain the action of Governor Grover who declined to issue a certificate to J. W. Watts, but counted all three of the electoral votes for Hayes and Wheeler.

The union state convention met at Corvallis March 29, 1866, and this convention was held under the auspices of what was then known as the union party, and later the union republican party, and still later the republican party. This convention nominated Rufus Mallory on the first ballot for congress, the vote being: Mallory, sixty-three; Bowlby, twenty-three; Henderson, seven;

Baker, twenty-eight. George L. Woods of Wasco was nominated for governor; Samuel E. May of Marion for secretary of state; E. N. Cooke of Marion for state treasurer; W. A. McPherson of Linn for state printer; B. F. Dowell was nominated judge for the first judicial district and D. M. C. Gault district attorney; J. F. Watson was nominated district attorney of the second judicial district; P. C. Sullivan of the third; M. F. Mulkey of the fourth, and C. R. Meigs of the fifth. In the election held in June Mallory received ten thousand three hundred and sixty-two votes; Fay, his opponent, received nine thousand eight hundred and nine votes. The union ticket was successful by a small majority.

The union state convention met at Salem March 25, 1868, and nominated David Logan for congress on the second ballot over P. C. Sullivan, of Polk, by a vote of fifty-six to fifty-one, two votes scattering. Orange Jacobs, Wilson Bowlby, and A. B. Meacham were nominated as presidential electors; John Kelsey judge of the second judicial district; W. W. Upton judge of the fourth judicial district; D. M. Risdon prosecuting attorney of the second judicial district; J. C. Powell prosecuting attorney of the third judicial district; A. C. Gibbs prosecuting attorney of the fourth judicial district; C. M. Foster prosecuting attorney of the fifth judicial district. The convention instructed its delegates for Ulysses S. Grant for president.

The union republican convention met at Portland Thursday, April 7, 1870, and nominated Joseph G. Wilson for congress; Gen. Joel Palmer for governor; James Elkins for secretary of state; M. Hirsch for state treasurer; H. R. Kincaid for state printer; E. B. Watson district attorney of the first judicial district; J. A. Odell district attorney of the second judicial district; J. C. Powell district attorney of the third judicial district;

A. C. Gibbs district attorney of the fourth judicial district; D. W. Lichtenthaler prosecuting attorney of the fifth judicial district; John Kelsey judge of the second judicial district; R. P. Boise of the third judicial district, and B. Whitten of the fifth. A. J. Thayer was elected judge of the second judicial district by a majority of eighty-six; R. P. Boise judge of the third judicial district by a majority of eighteen; L. L. McArthur judge of the fifth judicial by a majority of six hundred and seventy-eight; H. K. Hanna was elected district attorney of the first judicial district by a majority of one hundred and ninety-six; C. W. Fitch district attorney of the second judicial district by a majority of sixty votes; N. L. Butler district attorney of the third judicial district by a majority of one hundred and nine; A. C. Gibbs prosecuting attorney of the fourth judicial district by a majority of four hundred and twelve votes, and W. B. Laswell prosecuting attorney of the fifth judicial district by a majority of six hundred and sixty-nine.

The republican state convention met on Wednesday, March 29, 1872, at Portland, and elected Rufus Mallory chairman. J. G. Wilson was nominated by unanimous vote for congress; F. A. Chenoweth district attorney of the second judicial district; W. D. Hare, J. F. Gazley, and A. B. Meacham presidential electors.

The republican state convention which met at Salem April 8, 1874, nominated J. C. Tolman of Jackson for governor; D. G. Clark of Benton for treasurer; C. M. Foster of Baker for secretary of state; E. M. Waite of Marion for state printer; L. L. Rowland of Wasco for superintendent of public instruction; John Kelsey judge of the second judicial district; F. A. Chenoweth district attorney of the second judicial district; N. B. Humphrey district attorney of the third judicial district; W. Carey Johnson judge of the fourth judicial district; J.

C. Moreland district attorney of the fourth judicial district; J. C. Cartwright district attorney of the fifth judicial district.

The independent state convention met at Salem April 15, 1874, and nominated T. W. Davenport for congress; Thomas F. Campbell of Polk for governor; James H. Douthitt for secretary of state; D. Beach of Linn for treasurer; William M. Hand of Wasco for state printer; M. M. Oglesby of Douglas for superintendent of public instruction. It also nominated John Burnett for judge of the second judicial district; J. J. Walton district attorney of the second judicial district; Tilman Ford district attorney of the third judicial district; O. Humason district attorney of the fifth judicial district; E. D. Shattuck judge of the fourth judicial district, and H. Y. Thompson district attorney. The *Oregonian*, then edited by William Lair Hill, supported the ticket nominated by this convention. In the state convention thirteen counties were represented.

The republican state convention met Wednesday, May 3, 1876, at Portland, and nominated W. H. Odell, J. W. Watts, and J. C. Cartwright as presidential electors and Richard Williams for congress. It also nominated as district attorney of the first judicial district C. B. Watson; second judicial district, W. B. Higby; third judicial district, George H. Burnett; fourth judicial district, Raleigh Stott; fifth judicial district, S. B. Eakin; and J. F. Watson judge of the second judicial district; R. P. Boise judge of the third. The independent movement which was so strong in 1874 and which was mainly a protest against republican management, disappeared in the election in 1876.

The union republican convention which convened on March 29, 1866, adopted a platform of nine resolutions. The first expressed abiding confidence in the justice, in-

telligence, and patriotism of the people of the United States, and that they had firmness and wisdom to preserve the Union their valor had sustained; the second recognized honest difference of opinion as to the best plan of reconstruction, but deprecated the obstinacy or pride of opinion that gave strength to the enemies of the Union through discord and division among its friends; the third resolution expressed a desire for full recognition of all the civil and political privileges of the states lately in revolt as soon as compatible with national safety and the protection of the loyal people in these states; the fourth resolution reads as follows: "The name of the man or of the party that would propose to the nation to repudiate its just pecuniary obligations should be consigned to everlasting infamy;" the fifth expresses devotion to the soldiers and the cause for which they fought, and the sixth expresses a pledge to support the rights of the states in their domestic affairs, and at the same time a pledge to preserve the general government in its whole constitutional vigor; the seventh declared that the doctrine of nullification and secession held by the so-called democratic party is antagonistic to the perpetuity of the Union and destructive of the peace, order, and prosperity of the American people; the eighth pledged the party to maintain the national Union, and the ninth opposed taxation of the sale of mineral lands.

The democratic state convention which met April 5, 1866, adopted a platform consisting of eleven resolutions, the first of which expressed devotion to equal and exact justice to all men; support of the states in their rights and of the federal government in all its vigor; a jealous care of the elective franchise; supremacy of the civil over the military power; expressed opposition to centralized power; favored economy, education, morality, religious freedom, free speech, free press, and the writ of habeas

corpus. The second denounced the majority in congress in its refusal to admit the representatives of eleven states ; sustained President Johnson in his controversy with the republican majority ; approved his veto of the freedmen's bureau and civil rights bills. The third resolution declared its sympathy with and support of President Johnson in his contest, and the fourth denounced the assumption that the democratic party was in favor of repudiation, nullification, and secession as false and slanderous. The fifth resolution was in these words : "*Resolved*, That we indorse the sentiment of Senator Douglas that this government was made on a white basis for the benefit of the white man, and we are opposed to extending the right of suffrage to any other than white men." The sixth denounced the exemption of United States bonds from taxation, and favored their full taxation. The seventh condemned the protective tariff, and the eighth denounced the national banks and declared "that the existence of national banks after the experience we have had with and without them, especially in times of peace, is a subject of just alarm." The ninth resolution denounced the squandering of the public money by state officers. The tenth praises the patriotic soldiers of the war, but denounces the republican party as trying to turn the late war into a party triumph, and a war of conquest instead of the suppression of a rebellion ; a war for the negro instead of the white man. The eleventh resolution favors the free use of mines.

The union state convention which met March 25, 1868, instructed its delegates for Grant for president, and adopted a platform of nine resolutions. The first is expressive of the duty to maintain the Union ; the second indorses the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments, and the reconstruction acts ; the third favors the admis-

sion of the rebel states to representation as soon as it was safe so to do; the fourth opposes the payment of the national debt, contracted in specie, in legal tender; the fifth declares that congress had no right to interfere with the elective franchise where a state is represented in congress, and has a civil government not overthrown by rebellion; the sixth demanded the protection of all citizens, native or naturalized; the seventh encouraged foreign immigration; the eighth pledged its support to the soldiers and sailors, and favored liberal pensions; and the ninth resolution favored liberal appropriations of land and money by the government to aid in the construction of railroads.

The democratic state convention which convened on March 19, 1868, adopted a platform containing twelve resolutions, the first of which pledged the convention to adherence and unswerving fidelity to the time-honored principles of the party; the second declared that the federal government was one of limited powers, defined by the constitution; the third denied that the constitution authorized congress to legislate upon internal affairs of the state; and the subsequent portions of the platform, in substance, declared in favor of the maintenance of the constitution; opposed to sharing with the servile races the priceless political heritage achieved alone by white men and by them transmitted to their posterity; and declared that good faith and justice to all demands that the public debts should be paid in like currency as contracted, and that United States securities should be taxed as other property; that taxation should be upon the property instead of the industries, and protested against the reconstruction acts; condemned the usurpation of the judiciary and executive by congress; expressed sympathy with the Irish people in their efforts to secure for themselves liberty, and declared that the

government must protect alike native and naturalized citizens at home or abroad ; resolved in favor of a judicious system of railroad improvement in Oregon to develop the vast resources, and for this purpose asked congress to make liberal donations. This convention instructed its delegates for George H. Pendleton for president.

The democratic state convention which met March 23, 1870, adopted a lengthy platform of thirteen resolutions, in substance declaring the attachment of the party to the principles of the republic ; denouncing political partisans at Washington and the reconstruction measures as "a nefarious scheme, revolutionary in design, treasonable in execution." It also condemned the then senators as misrepresenting the wishes and outraging the sentiments of the people of the state ; denounced the bestowal of the elective franchise upon Indians, negroes, and Chinese, and denounced the ratification of the recent amendments to the constitution ; urged the repeal of the Burlingame treaty between the United States and China ; denounced special privileges as to burdens of taxation, and adopted the eighth resolution which reads, "that the continual payment of the semiannual interest on the bonded debt of the United States without abatement. together with other numerous expenses for which the people are taxed, make a burden too intolerable to be borne without an effort to find some speedy measures of relief ;" that the amount of the bonded debt was increased more than twofold by the venal, illegal, and unjustifiable terms of its contraction, and that there was neither justice nor wisdom in the repeated payment of the principal by the continued payment of the interest ; that it is no part of good policy or good government to embarrass the energies of all labor and all business enterprises by excessive and oppressive taxation for the exclusive benefit of a

combination of untaxed capital; that to relieve the country and restore prosperity we favor an equitable adjustment of the bonded debt of the United States. This resolution was challenged by the republicans as a direct expression of a desire to repudiate the national debt. The ninth resolution condemns the payment of bonds in specie and pensions in currency, and declared that "this evinces a design on the part of the moneyed aristocracy to influence the reestablishment of a policy favoring the aggrandizement of the rich at the expense of the poor, a policy which has for its object the aggregation of wealth and power on the one hand, and misery, poverty, and slavery on the other, a policy fitted only to a monarchial form of government." The platform closes by favoring a revenue tariff; denouncing protection for the sake of protection; favoring the adoption of an amendment rescinding the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, and favoring land grants to railroads; it denounces the action of the governor and resigning members of the last legislature as a conspiracy to overthrow the state government and collect taxes to speculate in bonds, warrants, and other securities, and approved the action of the democratic members who strove to maintain the legislative session.

The republican state convention which met April 7, 1870, adopted its platform under the name of the "Union Republican Party," and expressed its views in eleven resolutions. It declared its devotion to the Union; fidelity to the constitution and amendments, and the laws of congress; indorsed the administration of President Grant; expressed confidence in the administration of our foreign relations, and especially in relation to our claim against Great Britian, and the fourth resolution was as follows: "We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires

the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home or abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted. And for this purpose we favor strict economy in the administration of the national government, and the application to such payment of all surplus revenue from whatever sources derived, and that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit." The platform expresses sympathy with men of all nationalities, striving for self-government; opposes any change in the naturalization laws which shall admit to citizenship foreigners not now entitled thereto; favors a judicious system of railroad and river improvements, and insists upon congress making liberal grants of aid; favors a tariff for revenue with such discriminations in favor of domestic manufactures as will not diminish its efficiency for the purposes of revenue; favors universal amnesty to those people whose states have been restored to their full relations to the Union; favors education and opposes any diversion of the common school funds to any other purpose than the support of the common schools. Declares that it recognizes in the union republican party the measures and men who saved the government from destruction, and that its continuance in power is the only safeguard to national peace and prosperity.

The democratic state convention which met April 10, 1872, adopted a platform of nine resolutions, in substance declaring in favor of a strict construction of the constitution; the restoration of the states to their rights; opposes corruption in all departments of the government; declares against privileged classes or capital; expresses its approval of a tariff to raise money only for the necessary expenses of the federal government, and not for benefit of monopolies. It condemns as unconstitutional

the reconstruction and Ku Klux laws, and the fraud and corruption in the administration, and declares that the freedom, welfare, and rights of the people are superior to the interests of incorporations, and should be protected against the exactions of oppressive monopolies. It favors the appropriation of swamp land funds to internal improvement and common schools, and indorses the construction of the locks at Oregon City, and favors like improvement of the Columbia River; indorses the state administration in securing land grants that otherwise would have gone to corporations.

The union republican state convention which convened March 20, 1872, adopted a platform consisting of fourteen resolutions. The first declares its fidelity to the constitution and its amendments; commended the administration of President Grant, and denounces all forms and degrees of repudiation of the national debt as affirmed by the democratic party and its sympathizers as not only national calamities, but positive crimes, and declared that its party would never consent to a suspicion of lack of honor or justice in the complete satisfaction of that debt. It recognized no distinction between native and foreign born citizens, and favored complete amnesty to all people of the states lately in rebellion; favored the encouragement of railroads by the general government of the United States and the disposal of the public domain so as to secure the same to actual settlers; favored a revenue tariff with such adjustment of duties as gives liberal wages to labor and remunerative prices to agriculture; condemns the expenditure of \$200,000 of the common school fund on the locks at Oregon City; condemns the last legislature in respect to the disposal of swamp lands, the increase of salaries of state and county officers, and the Portland charter bill; favored a bounty of one hundred and sixty acres for each soldier; demanded the

repeal of the litigant act; expressed its approval of aid from the federal government for the construction of a railroad from Portland, Oregon, to Salt Lake City, and from Jackson County to Humboldt County, California, and pledged its party representatives to support the same. It favored a discriminating license of the liquor traffic and national aid to build a wagon road from Portland to The Dalles, and favored the continuance of its party in power.

The democratic state convention which met March 18, 1874, adopted a platform consisting of fourteen resolutions. The chairman of the committee on resolutions in that convention was C. B. Bellinger. It declared in favor of the rights of the states; asserted that the danger of corruption in public office was the greatest issue, and that the cardinal principle of the party's future political action was "retrenchment, economy, and reform," and that this was imperatively demanded; opposed the so-called "salary grab," the actions of ring politicians and land monopolies, and appealed to honest men everywhere, without regard to past political affiliations, to join the representatives of the party in branding, as they deserved, "these corrupt leeches on the body politic, and assist us to purge official stations of their unwholesome and baneful presence." It condemned the national administration and federal interference at the polls; favored the regulation and control of corporations by the legislature, and declared in favor of a speedy return to specie payments, just and equal taxation for support of federal and state governments, and opposed all discrimination in the assessment of federal revenue for the purposes of protection; favored free navigation and improvement of the Columbia and the construction of a breakwater at Port Orford, improvement of the Coquille and Willamette rivers, and the construction of a railroad from Portland

to Salt Lake City and an early completion of the Oregon and California Railroad to the state line. The platform approved the "Patrons of Husbandry," commonly known as the "Grange," and opposed schoolbook monopolies; favored the reduction of fees of clerks and sheriffs, and an amendment to the state constitution permitting the state printing to be let to the highest bidder, and favored the retention of the litigant act. It opposed the state buying, leasing, or speculating in anything not directly belonging to the state's business; favored the construction of a wagon road from Portland to The Dalles, and congressional aid to build the railroad from Portland to Salt Lake, and for continuation of the Oregon Central from St. Joseph to Junction City.

The republican platform adopted April 8, 1874, consisted of fifteen resolutions, and was a general eulogy of honest government; defined and declared the uses of a political party, and the necessity therefor; expressed a desire to control corporate franchises; opposed interference by state officials with conventions; demanded political reform and honest economy; sympathized with the agricultural classes; demanded congressional aid for rivers and harbors and liberal grants of public land in the aid of the construction of railroads and other public works, and particularly of the railroad from Portland to Salt Lake, the construction of the Oregon Central from St. Joseph to Junction City, the improvement of the Willamette River, and congressional aid for a wagon road from Rogue-river Valley to the coast and Portland to The Dalles; opposed the purchase or lease of the locks at Oregon City; favored the repeal of the litigant law, Portland charter, and the law for the increase of salaries and the schoolbook monopoly; favored the payment of the expenses or claims growing out of the Indian wars in 1872 and 1873 in Southern Oregon, and favored the

regulation of the sale of liquor so as to restrain abuses, and favored the opening of the Wallowa Valley to settlement.

The independent state convention which convened on April 15, 1874, adopted a platform consisting of fifteen resolutions, and condemned the extravagance of the state and national administrations, and declared that there was no ground to hope for a remedy for these evils through the agencies of the two political parties that had heretofore ruled the country. It condemned the multiplication of offices, state and national; favored means, both state and national, which would give cheap transportation, and to this end favored the construction of a railroad to Salt Lake and the completion of the Oregon and California Railroad to the south line of the state; the construction of the Oregon Central from St. Joseph to Junction City, and the completion of the same to Astoria; the construction of roads across the mountain chains; the wagon road from The Dalles to Portland, and demanded that freight rates should be fixed by law, state and national; that there should be a return to the salaries of the constitution, and a repeal of the law increasing the same; and a law protecting the state against the extravagant charges of the state printer. It declared itself in favor of the common schools and the repeal of the schoolbook monopoly and litigant act; it opposed the purchase of the locks at Oregon City; condemned the swamp land legislation and the lease of the lands thereunder; declared that personal character was the test of fitness for office; expressed its desire to regulate the liquor traffic by local precinct option and civil damage laws, and noted, with approval, the uprising of the agricultural masses.

At this time the *Portland Bulletin* was published as a daily paper at Portland, Oregon, in opposition to the

Oregonian, and was considered the regular organ of the republican party, and was edited by James O'Meara.

The democratic state convention which met April 26, 1876, adopted a platform consisting of three resolutions. It declared for the common schools; for religious freedom; commended the lower house of congress for its reforms, and reaffirmed the democratic platform for the year 1874.

The republican state convention which met May 3, 1876, adopted a platform consisting of nine resolutions, declaring its fidelity to the constitution and the Union; in favor of the preservation of the liberties of the people and the impartial administration of the laws; economy in public office and in favor of public schools, protective tariff, specie payment, and approved the resumption act; favored the prosecution of all criminals, having special reference to the star route and whisky ring, and other scandals exposed by the democratic congress; demanded national candidates of tried integrity and in accord with the fruits of the war; denounced the present state administration, which had contracted a debt of \$300,000.

It is thus seen that from 1865 up to 1874 the issues which divided the people into two political parties were practically those which grew out of the results of the civil war and the legislation following the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the constitution. It was not till 1874 that the old issues which had hitherto divided the political parties of the nation and state since 1861 ceased to be vital. The period from 1865 to 1876, embraced in this paper, witnessed that bitterness of political controversy and division of the people growing out of the great issues settled by the civil war and developed by the legislation rendered necessary thereby.

It has not been the purpose in this paper to give ex-

pression of approval or disapproval to any political event, platform, or action during the period named. The purpose has been to record the chief events of a political character, and to take note of some of the men who were active in the public affairs of this state during that time.

APPENDIX A.

LEGISLATURE OF 1866.

The members of the senate were as follows:

Baker—S. Ison.
 Benton—J. R. Bayley.
 Clackamas—W. C. Johnson.
 Grant—L. O. Stearns.
 Jackson—J. N. T. Miller.
 Lane—H. C. Huston.
 Linn—R. H. Crawford, William Cyrus.
 Marion—Samuel Brown, J. C. Cartwright
 Multnomah—J. N. Dolph, David Powell.
 Polk—W. D. Jeffries.
 Umatilla—N. Ford.

The following senators held over from the session of 1864:

Baker and Umatilla—James M. Pyle.
 Douglas—James Watson.
 Douglas, Coos, and Curry—G. S. Hinsdale.
 Josephine—C. M. Caldwell.
 Lane—S. B. Cranston.
 Wasco—Z. Donnell.
 Washington, Columbia, Clatsop and Tillamook—T. R. Cornelius.
 Yamhill—Joel Palmer.

Members of the house:

Baker—A. C. Loring.
 Baker and Union—W. C. Hindman.
 Benton—F. A. Chenoweth, James Gingles.
 Clackamas—J. D. Locey, J. D. Garrett, W. A. Starkweather.
 Clatsop, Columbia, and Tillamook—Cyrus Olney.
 Coos and Curry—F. G. Lockhart.
 Douglas—B. Hermann, James Cole, M. M. Melvin.
 Grant—Thomas H. Brentz, M. M. McKean.

Jackson—E. D. Foudray, Giles Welles, John E. Ross.
 Josephine—Isaac Fox.
 Lane—John Whiteaker J. E. P. Withers, R. B. Cochran.
 Linn—E. B. Moore, G. R. Helm, J. Q. A. Worth, J. R. South,
 W. C. Baird.
 Marion—J. I. O. Nicklin, W. E. Parris, C. B. Roland, L. S. Davis,
 B. A. Witzell.
 Multnomah—W. W. Upton, A. Rosenheim, J. P. Garlick, John
 S. White.
 Polk—J. Stouffer, J. J. Dempsey, William Hall.
 Umatilla—T. W. Avery, H. A. Gehr.
 Union—James Hendershott.
 Wasco—O. Humason, F. T. Dodge.
 Washington—G. C. Day, A. Hinman.
 Yamhill—J. Lamson, R. R. Laughlin.

LEGISLATURE OF 1868.

SENATE.

Newly elected members :

Clackamas—D. P. Thompson.
 Douglas, Coos, and Curry—B. Hermann, C. M. Pershbaker.
 Josephine—B. F. Holtzclaw.
 Lane—R. B. Cochran.
 Marion—Samuel Miller.
 Multnomah—Lansing Stout.
 Polk—B. F. Burch.
 Union—James Hendershott.
 Wasco—Victor Trevitt.
 Washington, Columbia, Clatsop and Tillamook—T. R. Cornelius.
 Yamhill—S. C. Adams.

Hold overs :

Baker—S. Ison.
 Benton—J. R. Bayley.
 Grant—John A. Dribblesby.
 Jackson—J. N. T. Miller.
 Lane—H. C. Huston.
 Linn—William Cyrus, R. H. Crawford.
 Marion—Samuel Brown.
 Multnomah—David Powell.
 Umatilla—N. Ford.

HOUSE.

Baker—R. Beers.
 Baker and Union—D. R. Benson.
 Benton—J. C. Alexander.

Clackamas—J. W. Garrett, D. P. Trullinger.
 Columbia, Clatsop, and Tillamook—W. D. Hoxter.
 Coos and Curry—Richard Pendergast.
 Douglas—John G. Flook, James F. Gazley, James Applegate.
 Grant—R. W. Neal, Thomas E. Gray.
 Jackson—J. B. White, Thomas Smith, J. L. Loudon.
 Josephine—Isaac Cox.
 Lane—John Whiteaker, H. H. Gilfrey, E. N. Tandy.
 Linn—John T. Crooks, John Bryant, B. B. Johnson, W. F. Alexander, T. J. Stites.
 Marion—John F. Denny, J. B. Lichtenthaler, T. W. Davenport, John Minto, David Simpson.
 Multnomah—W. W. Chapman, T. A. Davis, James Powell.
 Polk—R. J. Grant, F. Waymire, Ira S. Townsend.
 Umatilla—A. L. Kirk.
 Union—H. Rhinehart.
 Wasco—D. W. Butler, George J. Ryan.
 Washington—John A. Taylor, Edward Jackson.
 Yamhill—W. W. Brown, G. W. Burnett.

LEGISLATURE OF 1870.

SENATE.

Newly elected members :

Baker—A. H. Brown.
 Grant—J. W. Baldwin.
 Jackson—James D. Fay.
 Lane—A. W. Patterson.
 Linn—Enoch Hault, R. H. Crawford.
 Marion—Samuel Brown, John H. Moores.
 Multnomah—David Powell.
 Umatilla—T. T. Lieuallen.

Hold overs :

Clackamas—D. P. Thompson.
 Douglas, Coos, and Curry—C. M. Pershbaker.
 Josephine—B. F. Holtzelaw.
 Lane—R. B. Cochran.
 Multnomah—L. Stout.
 Union—J. Hendershott.
 Wasco—Victor Trevitt.
 Washington, Columbia, Clatsop and Tillamook—T. R. Cornelius.

HOUSE.

Baker—H. Porter.
 Baker and Union—J. R. McLain.

Benton—W. J. Kelly, W. J. Dunn.
 Clackamas—J. T. Apperson, W. A. Starkweather, P. Paquet.
 Clatsop—C. Olney.
 Coos and Curry—F. G. Lockhart.
 Douglas—C. M. Caldwell, J. C. Hutchinson, J. C. Drain.
 Grant—J. M. McCoy, W. H. Clark.
 Jackson—J. Rader, A. J. Burnett, J. Wells.
 Josephine—A. L. Waldron.
 Lane—John Whiteaker, G. B. Dorris, J. F. Amis.
 Linn—W. F. Alexander, Thos. Munkers, J. Ostrander, W. S. Elkins, Geo. R. Helm.
 Marion—W. R. Dunbar, J. M. Harrison, T. W. Davenport, Geo. P. Holman, R. P. Earhart.
 Multnomah—D. O'Regan, J. W. Whalley, L. P. W. Quimby, J. C. Carson.
 Polk—W. Comegys, R. J. Grant, B. Hayden.
 Umatilla—F. A. Dashiell, J. Thompson.
 Union—J. T. Hunter.
 Waseo—O. S. Savage, J. Fulton.
 Washington—W. A. Mills, W. D. Hare.
 Yamhill—L. Laughlin, A. Hussey.

LEGISLATURE OF 1872.

SENATE.

Newly elected members:

Clackamas—John Myers.
 Douglas, Coos, and Curry—J. F. Watson, G. Webster.
 Josephine—E. N. Tolen.
 Lane—W. W. Bristow.
 Multnomah—J. N. Dolph.
 Polk—R. S. Crystal.
 Union—Samuel Hannah.
 Waseo—William Monroe.
 Washington, Columbia, Clatsop and Tillamook—T. R. Cornelius.
 Yamhill—J. W. Cowles.

Hold overs:

Baker—Albert H. Brown.
 Benton—R. S. Strahan.
 Grant—J. W. Baldwin.
 Jackson—James D. Fay.
 Lane—A. W. Patterson.
 Linn—R. H. Crawford, Enoch Hoult.
 Marion—Samuel Brown, J. H. Moores.
 Multnomah—David Powell.
 Umatilla—T. T. Lieuallen.

HOUSE.

Baker—J. B. Onstein.

Baker and Union—Dunham Wright.

Benton—James Gingles, Benjamin Simpson.

Clackamas—L. T. Barin, J. D. Crawford, N. N. Matlock.

Clatsop—John West.

Clatsop, Columbia, and Tillamook—Samuel Corwin.

Columbia—Thomas Hodgkins.

Coos and Curry—M. Riley.

Douglas—G. W. Riddle, James T. Cooper, D. Bushey.

Grant—C. N. Thornbury, S. R. Johnson.

Jackson—Eli C. Mason, E. Walker, Nathaniel Langell.

Josephine—A. L. Waldon.

Lane—N. Martin, C. W. Washburn, A. S. Powers.

Linn—James Blakeley, R. B. Willoughby, N. H. Cranor, J. T. Crooks, H. Shelton.

Marion—Rufus Mallory, John Downing, T. McF. Patton, Joseph Engle, Wm. Darst.

Multnomah—J. B. Congle, J. F. Caples, Sol Hirsch, J. D. Biles.

Polk—J. H. White, J. C. Allen, R. Clow.

Umatilla—George A. LaDow, James Curran.

Union—O. D. Andrews.

Wasco—T. J. Stephenson, R. Grant.

Washington—Thomas A. Stott, G. H. Collier.

Yamhill—A. R. Burbank, T. R. Harrison.

LEGISLATURE OF 1874.

SENATE.

Newly elected members :

Baker—John W. Wisdom.

Benton—J. B. Lee.

Benton and Polk—A. M. Witham.

Clackamas—J. W. Offield.

Clatsop, Columbia, and Tillamook—S. H. Smith.

Douglas—W. F. Owens.

Grant—William H. Clark.

Jackson—John S. Herrin.

Lane—R. B. Cochran.

Linn—S. D. Haley, Thomas R. Munkers, T. P. Goodman.

Marion—James A. Richardson, M. L. Savage, Joseph Engle.

Multnomah—Sol Hirsch, J. S. M. Van Cleave.

Umatilla—Charles L. Jewell.

Wasco—Elisha Barnes.

Yamhill—William Townsend, J. C. Braly.

Hold overs:

Clackamas—John Myers.
 Douglas, Coos, and Curry—J. F. Watson, G. Webster.
 Josephine—E. N. Tolin.
 Lane—W. W. Bristow.
 Multnomah—J. N. Dolph.
 Polk—R. S. Crystal.
 Union—Samuel Hannah.
 Washington—T. R. Cornelius.

HOUSE.

Baker—C. G. Chandler, J. C. Wilson.
 Benton—James Bruce, W. J. Kelly, James Chambers.
 Clackamas—P. S. Noyer, J. M. Reed, Henry McGugin, S. P. Lee.
 Columbia—J. S. Rinearson.
 Coos—John P. Dully.
 Coos and Curry—H. Blake.
 Clatsop and Tillamook—W. R. Deane.
 Douglas—G. W. Riddle, John C. Drain, Thomas Legerwood,
 D. W. Stearns.
 Grant—Bart Curl (contested).
 Jackson—William J. Plymale, G. B. Van Riper, Thos. Wright.
 Josephine—William Fidler.
 Lane—A. J. Doak, J. D. Matlock, John McClung.
 Linn—Joseph Lane, Jonathan Wassom, Harvey Shelton, Frank
 Shedd, G. F. Crawford, A. W. Stanard.
 Marion—C. A. Reed, David Simpson, Warren Cranston, William
 Darst, F. X. Matthieu, A. N. Gilbert.
 Multnomah—William Cornell, R. S. Jewett, Jacob Johnson, R.
 Stott, John M. Gearin, P. Kelly.
 Polk—David Stump, T. L. Butler, W. C. Brown.
 Umatilla—T. Roe, U. Jackson, J. M. Partlow.
 Union—Dunham Wright, W. W. Ross.
 Wasco—E. B. Dufur, Robert Mays.
 Yamhill—Lee Laughlin, E. C. Bradshaw, William Galloway.

LEGISLATURE OF 1876.

SENATE.

Newly elected members:

Benton and Polk—J. S. Palmer.
 Clackamas—John Myers.
 Coos and Curry—A. G. Brown.
 Douglas—James Applegate, G. W. Colvig.
 Josephine—D. L. Green.

Lane—John Whiteaker.
 Linn—S. D. Haley.
 Multnomah—T. A. Davis, M. C. George.
 Polk—L. Bently.
 Union—M. Jasper.
 Wasco and Lake—S. G. Thompson.
 Washington—A. S. Watt.
 Yamhill—E. C. Bradshaw.

Hold overs :

Baker—J. W. Wisdom.
 Benton—J. B. Lee.
 Clackamas—J. W. Offield.
 Grant—W. H. Clark.
 Jackson—John S. Herrin.
 Lane—R. B. Cochran.
 Linn—T. R. Munkers, T. P. Goodman.
 Marion—M. L. Savage, J. A. Richardson, Joseph Engle.
 Multnomah—J. S. M. Van Cleave.
 Umatilla—C. L. Jewell.
 Yamhill—J. C. Braly.

HOUSE.

Baker—A. J. Lawrence, I. D. Haines.
 Benton—J. T. Hughes, R. A. Bensell, James Chambers.
 Clackamas—J. M. Read, H. Straight, Jr., J. W. Cochran, Henry Will.
 Columbia—T. A. McBride.
 Clatsop and Tillamook—R. W. Wilson.
 Coos—R. H. Rosa.
 Coos and Curry—E. J. Gould.
 Douglas—W. F. Benjamin, E. A. Kirkpatrick, W. P. T. Grubbe, M. M. Melvin.
 Grant—F. Winnegar.
 Jackson—Joseph Crain, J. M. McCall.
 Josephine—W. W. Fidler.
 Lane—A. D. Burton, R. B. Hayes, Rodney Scott, Allen Bond.
 Linn—A. W. Stanard, T. L. Porter, J. T. Crooks, John Sumner, J. K. Weatherford, B. R. Grimes.
 Marion—Stephen Smith, F. R. Smith, A. N. Gilbert, D. Payton, H. K. Hunsaker, William Porter.
 Multnomah—R. H. Love, B. Z. Holmes, William Cornell, Gideon Tibbetts, J. M. Scott, D. Goodsell, J. B. Roberts.
 Polk—Stephen Staats, T. J. Hayter, J. B. Stump.
 Umatilla—J. L. Morrow, W. S. Goodman.
 Union—M. W. Mitchell, R. D. Ruckman.

Wasco—J. H. Mosier, D. W. Butler.

Washington—E. E. Fanning, D. M. C. Gault, C. T. Tozier.

Yamhill—William D. Fenton, J. L. Ferguson, J. J. Henderson.

General summary of taxable property for the years
1858 to 1875, inclusive :

1858-----	\$ 22,824,118 00
1859-----	24,181,669 15
1860-----	23,886,951 00
1861-----	21,288,931 00
1862-----	19,866,125 50
1863-----	20,911,931 47
1864-----	22,188,153 48
1865-----	24,872,762 24
1866-----	25,560,312 63
1867-----	25,893,469 75
1868-----	26,746,862 25
1869-----	26,919,097 75
1870-----	29,587,846 25
1871-----	34,744,459 75
1872-----	37,174,168 94
1873-----	40,700,159 00
1874-----	40,494,236 00
1875-----	41,436,086 00

OFFICIAL ELECTION RETURNS, JUNE 5, 1866.

Congressman—Rufus Mallory, republican, ten thousand three hundred and sixty-two votes ; James D. Fay, democrat, nine thousand eight hundred and nine votes. Governor—George L. Woods, republican, ten thousand three hundred and sixteen votes ; James K. Kelly, democrat, ten thousand and thirty-nine votes. Secretary of State—Samuel E. May, republican, ten thousand three hundred and eighty-seven votes ; Lafayette Lane, democrat, nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven votes. State Treasurer—E. N. Cooke, republican, ten thousand three hundred and sixty-seven votes ; John C. Bell, democrat, nine thousand eight hundred and seventy-four votes. State Printer—W. A. McPherson, republican, ten thousand four hundred and thirteen votes ; James O'Meara, democrat, nine thousand six hundred and forty-six votes.

GENERAL ELECTION JUNE 1, 1868.

Congressman—Jos. S. Smith, democrat, eleven thousand seven hundred and fifty-four votes; David Logan, republican, ten thousand five hundred and fifty-five votes.

Legislature in 1866—Senate: fourteen republicans, eight democrats; house: twenty-four republicans, twenty three democrats; republican majority on joint ballot, seven.

On March 21, 1868, it was advertised in the *Daily Oregonian* that five hundred and twenty-five miles of the Union Pacific railroad, running west from Omaha, had been completed, and that it was expected that the road would be completed and opened to the Pacific Coast in 1870.

Legislative assembly for 1868—Republicans, senate, nine; house, seventeen; democrats, senate, thirteen; house, thirty. Democratic majority on joint ballot, seventeen.

At the general election in 1868 David Logan received one thousand one hundred and twenty-one votes, and Joseph Smith one thousand one hundred and eighty-one votes in Multnomah County. The presidential election was held November 3, 1868, the republican electors receiving ten thousand nine hundred and sixty votes, and the democratic receiving eleven thousand one hundred and twenty-five votes. Total vote in June, 1868, twenty-two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine; total vote in November, 1868, twenty-two thousand and eighty-five; total vote in November, 1864, eighteen thousand three hundred and forty-five.

At the general election held June 6, 1870, Joseph G. Wilson, republican candidate for congressman, received eleven thousand two hundred and forty-five votes; James H. Slater, democrat, eleven thousand five hundred and

eighty-eight votes. Gen. Joel Palmer, republican candidate for governor, received eleven thousand and ninety five votes; L. F. Grover, democrat, eleven thousand seven hundred and sixty-two votes. James Elkins, republican candidate for secretary of state, eleven thousand one hundred and forty-two; S. F. Chadwick, democrat, eleven thousand six hundred and fifty-five votes. E. Hirsch, republican, state treasurer, ten thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine votes; L. Fleischner, democrat, eleven thousand five hundred and ninety-three votes. State printer, H. R. Kincaid, republican, eleven thousand one hundred and fifty-eight votes; Thomas Patterson, democrat, eleven thousand five hundred and fifty-nine votes. At this election A. J. Thayer, democrat, was elected judge of the second judicial district by eighty-six majority; R. P. Boise, republican, judge of the third judicial district, eighteen majority; L. L. McArthur, democrat, judge fifth judicial district, six hundred and seventy-eight majority; H. K. Hanna, democrat, district attorney first judicial district, one hundred and ninety-six majority; C. W. Fitch, democrat, district attorney second judicial district, sixty majority; N. L. Butler, democrat, district attorney third judicial district, one hundred and nine majority; A. C. Gibbs, republican, district attorney fourth judicial district, four hundred and twelve majority; W. B. Laswell, democrat, district attorney fifth judicial district, six hundred and sixty-nine majority.

At the general election held June 3, 1872, John Burnett, democrat, congressman, received twelve thousand three hundred and thirty-seven votes; Joseph G. Wilson, republican, thirteen thousand one hundred and eighty-seven votes. Total vote in June, 1872, twenty-five thousand five hundred and four; total vote in November, 1872, nineteen thousand and forty-nine. Legislative

assembly, 1872—Senate: republicans, twelve; house, thirty-two; democrats, senate, ten; house, seventeen. Republican majority on joint ballot, seventeen. At that election Wilson received two thousand and eighty-four votes in Multnomah County; John Burnett, one thousand one hundred and eighty-five votes. Joseph N. Dolph, state senator, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five votes; Al Zieber, democrat, one thousand one hundred and seventy votes. Presidential election November 5, 1872: Grant electors, eleven thousand eight hundred and eighteen votes; Greeley electors, seven thousand seven hundred and forty-two votes; O'Conner, five hundred and eighty-seven votes. State election June 1, 1874—L. F. Grover, democrat, governor, nine thousand seven hundred and thirteen votes: J. C. Tolman, republican, nine thousand one hundred and thirteen votes, and T. F. Campbell, independent, six thousand five hundred and thirty-two votes. State election June 5, 1876—No state or congressional candidate voted for, but on November 7, 1876, Richard Williams was elected to congress, receiving fifteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven votes, over Lafayette Lane, democrat, receiving fourteen thousand two hundred and twenty-nine votes. The republican electors at the same election received fifteen thousand two hundred and six votes; democratic electors, fourteen thousand one hundred and thirty-six votes.

Population of Oregon February 12, 1859, fifty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-five. Census 1870, ninety thousand seven hundred and seventy-six. Portland, Oregon, in 1860, had two thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight and in 1870 eight thousand two hundred and ninety-three inhabitants. Assessed value of the State of Oregon, 1860, \$19,024,915; in 1870, \$31,798,-

510. Miles of railroad in Oregon in 1860, four; in 1863, four; in 1866 to 1869, nineteen; in 1870, one hundred and fifty-nine.

In 1875 Henry Warren, republican, congressman, received nine thousand one hundred and six and Lafayette Lane, democrat, nine thousand three hundred and seventy-three votes. In 1873 Hiram Smith, republican, received six thousand one hundred and twenty-three and J. W. Nesmith, democrat, eight thousand one hundred and ninety-four votes.

NOTE.—It has been stated in the first paper (page 334, December Quarterly) that John R. McBride was the republican nominee for the first congressman for Oregon at the election in 1858, but that he was defeated by L. F. Grover. While he was the republican nominee as stated, he was not defeated by Mr. Grover. The republicans practically withdrew his name from the election, and threw their votes to James K. Kelley, who had been nominated by the National democrats. The contest was practically between two demoerats. Grover receiving five thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine votes, Kelley, four thousand one hundred and ninety. Bancroft, speaking of this incident, says: "At the election in 1858, there were three parties in the field; Oregon demoerats, National democrats, and republicans. The National faction could not get beyond a protest against tyranny. It nominated J. K. Kelley for representative in congress, and E. M. Barnum for governor. The republicans nominated an entire ticket, with John R. McBride for congressman, and John Denny for governor. Feeling that the youth and inexperience of these candidates could not hope to win against the two democratic candidates, the republicans, with the consent of McBride, voted for Kelley, whom they liked and whom they hoped not only to elect, but to bring over to their party.—Bancroft's Works, vol. 30, page 430.

HISTORY OF THE BARLOW ROAD.

From "Recollections of Seventy Years," by William Barlow.

Quite a remarkable coincidence in name and purpose is evident from the facts that Dr. Samuel K. Barlow of Massachusetts was the first man to propose a transcontinental railroad across the Rocky Mountains, and that Samuel K. Barlow of Kentucky, a generation later, proposed and executed the first wagon road over the Cascade Mountains, thus completing the circuit of one third of the land circumference of the globe. The life action of the latter fully realized the thought of the former.

Samuel Kimbrough Barlow was of Scotch descent and was imbued with the spirit of that type of men who fear not. In 1844 he worked with might and main to elect the great Kentuckian, whom the nation failed to honor. Failure with Mr. Barlow was not despair, but renewed and tactful ardor. He was a whole emergency corps in himself. The nation failed to elect Clay, so Mr. Barlow declared his determination to go where he could not feel the force of the failure.

Illinois became the stepping stone to the final goal—Oregon. S. K. Barlow was captain of one of the large immigration companies of 1845. Five thousand men, women, and children moved out of Independence, Missouri, westward bound, armed with the spirit of the name of the lonely little town left behind. There were about one thousand wagons, all under the leadership of Dr. William Welch. But independence soon prevailed and each little company became a law unto itself. At Fort

Hall about half the wagons parted from those destined for California and continued on without unusual incident to The Dalles, Oregon. This was the supposed terminus of the wagon road for all time. An Indian trail was known and used by many for the transportation of household goods, etc., by pack horses, or for cattle droves, but no man had been courageous enough to undertake the supposed impossible journey. Captain Barlow was outspoken in his determination to try the untried mountain passes. He said: "God never made a mountain that he had not made a place for some man to go over it or under it. I am going to hunt for that place, but I ask no one who feels in the least the force of the word 'can't' to accompany me." Members of his own family had implicit faith in his ability to find what he sought, so did not hesitate to follow. The Barlows had plenty of provisions to last two months, their cattle and horses were in good condition, and there was money enough to furnish any comfort necessary for a continuance of the time and distance if courage sanctioned inclination.

At last the start was made, about the first of October, 1845. Those who signified their willingness to try the untried with Mr. Barlow were his wife, Susannah Lee, his eldest son William, aged twenty-two, James and John Lawson Barlow, two younger sons, Mrs. Sarah Barlow-Gaines, her husband, Albert Gaines, and their two daughters, now Mrs. Rhinehart of Seattle, and Mrs. G. B. Curry of La Grande, and Miss Jane Barlow, afterwards Mrs. A. F. Hedges. Those who joined the Barlows were William Rector and wife, Mr. Gessner and wife, J. C. Caplinger and wife, John Bacon, William Berry, and several children. The entire party numbered nineteen men and women, besides children. Their able assistants were seven horses, thirteen wagons, sixteen yoke of cattle, and one dog. The party drove to Five

Mile Creek, where water and grass were plentiful for stock, and here they halted several days for rest and repairs.

During the stay here Samuel K. Barlow left for a reconnoitering trip. A low sink was observed from the Blue Mountains, and to that point the observing pioneer directed his attention. After several days' absence, he returned full of dauntless courage to proceed. Mr. Wm. H. Rector then volunteered to accompany Mr. Barlow and help make the preliminary surveys of the untried route. "You are just the man I need," Mr. Barlow said. "You are young, stout, and resolute; so come right along." The teams were in fine condition, hopes were buoyant, and "On, on," were the watchwords. The provisions and tools were divided so all could fare alike, we started. A drive of twenty-five or thirty miles brought us to Tygh Valley, where we rested a day and prepared for the trying ordeal of the next few days. From our captain's report we knew a long hill, a deep canyon, and a long stretch of dry land lay in front of us. The old gent quietly determined to take us beyond these barriers himself, feeling that once beyond them, the memory would not only deter us from a desire of retracing our steps, but rather encourage a forward movement. Plenty of wood and water would then be on every hand. At this point it was determined that Mr. Barlow and Mr. Rector should leave us for another contemplated reconnoitering movement. Armed with an ax, a gun, a few blankets, light provisions, and plenty of resolute will, the two pathfinders struck out to strike the first steel blade into the primeval forest of the Cascade Mountains. The remainder of the party was divided into two forces; one, a working party of about ten men and boys, was to cut out the road after the blazers; the other, composed of the women and children and two boys to assist, was to follow the road

builders. The greatest deficiency we felt was the lack of good tools. Old rusty axes and saws, young and tender muscles, and big trees were quite incompatible. But pluck and necessity compelled action, so we hacked away and went on. The east side of the Cascades is but slightly timbered; our teams passed around and under the pine and hemlock trees with ease, but on the west side the trees were thick and the underbrush made every yard or foot even an impassable barrier to our wagons, till ax, saw, or fire demolished or burned the barriers away.

Days and weeks passed and no tidings of the road hunters came. Our men had cut to the head or source of the Little Des Chutes River, close to Mount Hood. The wagons had advanced but twelve miles. We stopped at the long but not very steep hill and waited for the road hunters to return to give us hopeful prospects, for we did not wish to descend it for fear we might have to ascend it again if the fiat were to be, "Thus far and no farther."

The spot where we waited and rested was most beautiful. But for our anxiety for the absent pathfinders, our fears of the winter snows coming on, and the fast diminishing supply of what we considered our ample supply of provisions, we should have enjoyed the panorama like a Mazama. Our anxiety was of short duration, however, for about dark a few days after our halt rifle shots heralded the approach of those whom we awaited. The return salute from half a dozen rifles made the woods ring for miles around. "Tallows" were lighted and men, women, and children went with a rush to meet the stalwart pioneers and learn the fate of future movements. Greetings over, the first thing the old gent said was, "Don't give us much to eat; a little coffee must be food and stimulant too." Mr. Rector said: "Speak for yourself, Barlow; I am going to eat whatever my

good wife will cook for me at this late hour. You would not let me eat those big snails, nor eat you, so now I'm going to do as I please." Mrs. Rector, however, did not please to be over lavish in her supply for that meal, so no disaster followed.

In the morning all gathered around to hear the result of the advance expedition. Mr. Rector spoke first and said: "We have found a good route for a road, but it will be a very hazardous journey this time of the year. I dread the possibility of the danger for my wife, so we have concluded to return to The Dalles." Mr. Barlow, wishing to allay fear and dread on the part of others, spoke quickly, "Mr. Rector, you are at liberty to do as you please. If I had *any* fears of losing any of my company on account of the road, I would not say 'Go' to any of them; but I know we can go on from here and reach the summit of the Cascades, the mountains we have started in to overcome. If we can not go on from there we will build a cache for our surplus wagons and baggage and leave two of our trusty young men to guard them. We, ourselves, will follow the trail we have just made, and soon reach the civilization of the Northwest." All except Mr. Rector and wife determined to advance, and preparations began at once. Wm. Berry and Wm. Barlow agreed to take charge of the wagons until the condition of the weather and road would permit their being brought out.

It was now late in November. The snow was liable to blockade us at any day, so it was decided to send the cattle over the Indian trail at once. Wm. Barlow was to accompany James A. Barlow and John L. Barlow over the mountain as far as the main Sandy road. Here he would procure what supplies he could and return to the hungry men and women in the mountains. The old Indian trail was marked out by the Indians regardless

of altitude and snow, which to them were not such insurmountable barriers as the trees and underbrush. Their tomahawks and scalping knives were not sufficient to cut away logs and trees, so they went around them. When they came to a log they could not avoid, they hacked a notch in it just deep and wide enough for their adroit little ponies to jump over. These narrow passes often caused damage, and even death, to many cattle.

We were two days in going over Mount Hood trail. Leaving the young men on the established road to Foster's, Wm. Barlow returned to camp and assisted in building a safe and snug cache for the goods and a cabin for the men who were to care for all the emigrants' worldly goods that winter. On account of the limited supply of food, it was decided that Wm. Berry should remain alone and await the return of Wm. Barlow, the writer, in January. Wagons were worth from \$150 to \$200 in the valley, and twenty wagons were indispensable to the pioneers at any price. Captain Barlow packed the horses snugly with women, children, and provisions and started over the last and most dangerous part of the route—the coastal side of the Cascades. Then it was that hard times came. Whortleberry swamps confronted us frequently, and many a time all had to wade through them, as the horses mired with the least load upon them. The best time we could make was from three to five miles a day. A snowstorm coming on covered the ground with a foot of snow, leaving nothing for our horses to eat except laurel, which was supposed to be poisonous. Something caused the death of one of our few horses. The hams were cut out and saved for an emergency. Mrs. Caplinger and some of the others became much disheartened and bemoaned the fate of "doubly dying" of starvation and cold. Mrs. Gaines, Mr. Barlow's oldest child, laughed at their fears and said, "Why, we are in the midst of

plenty,—plenty of snow, plenty of wood to melt it, plenty of horse meat, plenty of dog meat if the worst comes.” Notwithstanding this courageous spirit it was deemed best to send John M. Bacon and Win. Barlow on foot into Foster’s settlement for more supplies. Mr. Bacon had been an indispensable man all along the route, as he was a tailor by trade, and his needle was always busy on clothing or harness.

We started out with our scanty quota of coffee and four small biscuits. A dull chopping ax was the only tool that could be spared for our purposes. We knew the necessity of haste. With snow over everything but the poison laurel, our horses were forced to eat it and die, or to starve and die. Then came the thought of our families having to eat the flesh of poisoned horses, possibly to die from its effects; or, if they lived, to walk out over the snow and barely exist on scanty allowance. We therefore went down Laurel Hill like “shot off of a shovel,” and in less time than two hours we had to look back to see the snow. We soon struck the Big Sandy trail and our troubles were over. The only danger was in crossing the stream so many times. In many places we found drift or boulders for stepping stones, but at one place we had to chop down a big tree and take the chance on its falling on a small rock in the middle of the turbulent water. The chance was lost, for the tree broke as it fell and washed away. We then concluded to prepare a good supper of coffee and biscuits. But poor John drew a long breath and said, “Will, I’m sorry and ashamed to tell you that I lost those four biscuits in the stream. I slipped and fell in stepping on a boulder, and away went the bread and I could not catch it.” I never really suspected that John ate them, but for fun replied, “I thought it would be hard to catch anything on its way to a hungry man’s breadbasket.”

In the morning I determined to cross that stream. I cut a ten-foot vaulting pole, and placing it firmly on the bottom among the boulders, I braced myself against it and sprang. I reached the island. Again I ventured to reach the opposite shore, and surprised myself by succeeding. There were no flags or horns to herald approval, but Bacon's cheers and my own feelings of victory, and what it meant to my mother, father, all in the mountains, were sufficient. I sang "good-bye" to Bacon, and bounded away to Foster's, eight miles further on, for food and rescue. In three hours I was with my brothers, James and "Dock," and sent them posthaste to Oregon City for men, food, and horses. I remained to rest and recuperate my half-famished condition. The next morning we were ready to retrace our steps and carry the much needed succor. To our surprise we met the emigrants that evening. They had moved steadily on, knowing that the distance was short and that food, raiment, and rest were near at hand. We followed the blazed road and it led us to a safe crossing over the treacherous Sandy. The next day, December 23, 1845, the whole party arrived at Foster's haven. Food was set before us in abundance, but we out heralded Tantalus himself and ate sparingly. The roads were still pretty good, and we felt that there should be no rest for the weary till Oregon City was reached. We accordingly pushed on with most of our party, and arrived at our final destination, Oregon City, December 25, 1845, just eight months and twenty-four days from Fulton County, Illinois.

The first winter in Oregon was spent without incident of note. Many of our company bought land or took up donation claims and went to work with a purpose and earnestness worthy of true pioneers.

Samuel K. Barlow for many years after made annual

trips into the mountain wilds. Finally old age compelled him to enjoy these trips in reminiscences only, and many are the recitals he gave with accurate memory of events indelibly stamped to his children and children's children.

In the summer of 1846, after the Provisional government had been established, S. K. Barlow made application for a charter to make a wagon road over the Cascade Mountains south of Mount Hood. Permission was readily granted. About forty road workers started out under the personal supervision of Mr. Barlow. They improved the condition generally, cutting down grades here and there, building bridges, making corduroy, and widening the road everywhere. Two thirds of the immigration of 1846 came over this road and fully if not more than that proportion availed themselves of this continuous route in subsequent years. Thus the hazards and expense of the Columbia River route were obviated. A few miles extra on the long journey were less trouble than to make a transfer of goods to the bateaux at The Dalles.

The road was about eighty miles long; sixty-five miles of it were cut through the primeval forests, canyons, creeks, and rivers of the Cascade mountains and slopes. It began at the western side of Tygh Valley and followed the Indian path for about fifteen miles. In Mr. Barlow's first reconnoitering tour his observations led him to determine to blaze out the road over the natural passes he then and there discovered. Subsequently Mr. Rector approved of the route and together they confirmed its possibility, which was afterwards fully determined to be the natural and most practicable route by immigrations from 1845 to the present day. The late Judge Matthew P. Deady said of this road: "The construction of the Barlow road contributed more towards the prosperity of the Willamette Valley and the future State of Oregon than any other

achievement prior to the building of the railways in 1870."

In 1848 the road was made a toll road by a charter from the Provisional government. A toll of \$5.00 for each wagon and \$1.00 for a single head of stock was charged to balance accounts. Many were unable to pay the toll, but readily gave their promises to settle in the future. Mr. Barlow, after two seasons, thinking he had reimbursed himself for his outlay, turned the road over to the territory and it became a free highway for the future immigrants to the Willamette Valley. Little or no repairs were made to it after it became public property and it soon relapsed into an almost impassable condition. Immigrants lost many times the toll in the loss of their stock, besides having delays, hardships, and numerous annoyances. After several years, Mr. Barlow found that the promises of many who desired to pay toll had been forgotten. Thus the scheme was not a profitable one, but one which always gave satisfaction to the pioneer spirit of its builder.

Messrs. Foster and Young afterwards rechartered the road and kept it in fairly good repair by the income in toll. Later, Hon. F. O. McCown of Oregon City, organized a stock company for its improvement. Many of the difficult passes are avoided in the new route, but practically the same general direction is followed as that blazed by the pioneer road builders of 1845.

Samuel K. Barlow was born in Nicholas County, Kentucky, January 24, 1795. He was thoroughly pioneer in every respect; in religion, an investigator; in politics, an independent whig; in character, moral and honest; in customs, unconventional; in all things, himself.

In 1848 Mr. Barlow paid \$3,000 for the entire donation claim of Thomas McKay. After "proving up" on it by a four years' residence he sold it to William Barlow, its

present owner. The last few years of S. K. Barlow's life were spent in Canemah, near Oregon City, where he died July 14, 1867. He was buried by the side of his wife at Barlow's Prairie, where a monument marks the final resting place of the builder of the first road over the Cascade Mountains.

MARY S. BARLOW.

ACROSS THE CONTINENT SEVENTY YEARS AGO.

Extracts from the journal of John Ball of his trip across the Rocky Mountains,
and his life in Oregon, compiled by his daughter.

John Ball was the youngest of ten children born on Tenny's Hill, Hebron, Grafton County, New Hampshire, November 12, 1794. His father, Nathaniel Ball, whose ancestors came from England, settled in the county of Worcester, Massachusetts.

The subject of this sketch was born in a log cabin, and his earliest recollection was the building of a frame house, into which the family moved when he was but three years old. His childhood was spent on this farm. Of school he had but very little before he was twenty years old. Being anxious for an education, after much urging, his father consented to his leaving home. In 1814 he was sent to a clergyman in Groton, the next town. Thence he went to Salisbury Academy, and entered Dartmouth College in 1816, spending his summer vacation on the farm, and teaching what he could during the winters. He was graduated in 1820. The late George P. Marsh was a classmate.

After graduating he went to Lansingburgh, New York, where his youngest sister (the late Mrs. Deborah Powers) lived, and studied law, teaching school to meet necessary expenses. In 1822 he fancied he could better himself, and took passage from New York City for Darien, Georgia. Arriving off the coast of that state, a violent storm came on, and in attempting to reach an "inland" passage by St. Catherine's Sound the vessel grounded on a bar five

miles from land, causing a complete wreck. This happened after dark, but all stuck to the ship until daybreak, as the wind was blowing a gale. All were saved but two negroes, who would not leave the ship. The others were picked up by a vessel bound for Darien. At Darien he read law and taught school. After six months he gladly returned north and resumed his studies in Lansingburgh.

In the summer of 1824 he was examined by the supreme court in session at Utica, New York, and was admitted as an attorney at law. The celebrated Aaron Burr was present as court counsel. In 1827 he was elected justice of the peace of Rensselaer County, holding that office and practicing law until 1829, when the sudden death of his brother-in-law, Mr. Wm. Powers, June 24, 1829, who had just started in the floor oilcloth manufacturing business, obliged him to close his office in order to relieve his sister in trouble and settle Mr. Powers' estate. This he did in two and one half years, having paid up all the debts of nearly \$10,000. Knowing that his sister was now well provided for, Mr. Ball left Lansingburgh January 1, 1832, to join Capt. N. J. Wyeth's expedition to Oregon, at Baltimore. A trip of this kind had been one of the dreams of his life.

One of the parties of the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1803-6 was John Ordway, a neighbor of his father, who filled his youthful imagination by the stories he told. He had been in correspondence with Captain Wyeth of Boston, whom he had learned was arranging to journey to Oregon by land. On his way to Baltimore he stopped in New York and met a young man named J. Sinclair, who went with him to Oregon. He called on Ramsey Crooks, one of the men in John Jacob Astor's fur enterprise. At Washington he met General Ashley, who carried on the first fur trade across the plains. General Ashley was then a member of congress from Missouri. Mr. Ball

called at the White House to see General Jackson, of whom he was a great admirer. The story of this journey is perhaps best and most succinctly told by extracts from Mr. Ball's journal, which opens as follows :

I met Captain Wyeth in Baltimore March 18, 1832. The company were in uniform dress. Each wore a coarse woollen jacket and pantaloons, a striped cotton shirt and cowhide boots. Each had a musket, some had rifles. All had bayonets on their broad belts, with a large clasp knife for eating and general use. Some had pistols, but each had also a small axe or hatchet in their belts. To complete this outfit were utensils for cooking, tents, camp kettles, and blankets. Each man paid Captain Wyeth \$40 to defray expenses by wheel or steamboat.

We went by railroad to Frederick, sixty miles over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad by horse power. This was then the longest railroad in the country. It had been built at enormous expense, and was constructed on a plan very unlike the present. A flat iron rail was used and was riveted onto granite blocks or stringers. The winter frost had so displaced these blocks that it was very rough. The railroad cuts gave a fresh and fine view of the geology of the country ; the granite, the strata of marble of the Blue Ridge, and the Alleghany sandstone.

We arrived at Frederick March 29. From there we walked, having a wagon for our baggage, and then we commenced our camplife. We pitched our tents by the roadside, and built fires to cook by. So we continued on the National road to Brownsville, on the Monongahela River. There we took a steamboat for Pittsburgh, then a small village of smoke and dirt. April 8 we took a steamboat, "The Freeman," down the Ohio River to Saint Louis, Missouri. We stopped at Cincinnati April 12 for a day. It was a mere village, the buildings being of wood and of no great pretensions. The river had been so high that it had flooded the village, doing much damage. We passed Marietta, distinguished for its mounds, resembling modern fortifications, but doubtless the work of aborigines, now extinct. There was, too, a creek about a hundred miles from Pittsburgh, called "Seneca Oil Creek," which would blaze on the application of a match.

Captain Wyeth lessened our expenses (or tried to) by bargaining with the captain of the steamboat that we should assist in helping bring wood on the boat. The sail from Cincinnati to Saint Louis was interesting, and passing the falls or rapids of the Ohio in the vicinity of Louisville was especially exciting. We arrived at Saint Louis April 18, 1832. Here we hoped to meet some of the traders who were going west on their annual trip, and called on Mr. Mackenzie, one of

the fur traders, who afterwards sold his interest to William Sublette. He informed us that Mr. Sublette expected to start from Lexington, Missouri, about May 1. Mr. Mackenzie kindly arranged for us to go up the Missouri River on the steamboat "Otto," which went up two hundred and sixty miles. As we steamed away from Saint Louis we passed a company of soldiers sailing up the Mississippi on their way to fight the Black Hawk Indians, where Chicago now stands. After we had gone about one hundred miles up the Missouri we struck a big sand bar, extending across the river. Our boat drew six feet of water and here was but three feet. The boat could do nothing except keep her nose in the sand bar and wait until the sand had washed away. This was pretty tedious and most of us got tired, and going ashore, walked on to Lexington, reaching there before the boat did. When we stopped for food or lodging we were hospitably received and fed.

An extract from a letter of his printed in the *New Hampshire Statesman* from Lexington, gives Mr. Ball's impression of Missouri at that early date :

LEXINGTON, Missouri, April 29, 1832.

Yesterday I walked thirty miles over prairies. Although somewhat rolling, it has the appearance of a vastness like the ocean. The river bottoms are wooded, as are also the hills, extending a few miles back. There is much cottonwood (a kind of poplar) on the islands and river banks. By the way, islands are constantly forming in the Missouri River, and as rapidly as they emerge above the surface the cottonwood tree springs up spontaneously. The bottoms are skirted with limestone bluffs, which continue for a few miles, and are again broken. This region affords a rich field for botany. Vegetation begins to spring forth but it is not as forward as I expected. The season is said to be late. Grass on the prairies is from six to twelve inches high, except where it has been burned over (as it mostly has been) and there it is not as thick; still fine herds of cattle of a hundred head or more are seen grazing upon it.

There is not a sufficient supply of good water, nor should I think it very healthy from the circumstances of the people. The bed of the Missouri is a quicksand, mixed with soil. The water is the color of well-creamed coffee. After drinking it and shutting the mouth one can feel the grit. But still thus it flows eternally on at four knots per hour.

Here we take our final outfit, which done we start forth, leaving civilization and all the comforts of social life behind us. It will be necessary to obtain forty or fifty horses to carry our goods and ourselves part of the time. Our path launches off on a prairie south of the river

that ends in the mountains. The distance is said by the hunters to be from one to two thousand miles (but doubtless these estimates are much exaggerated). The inhabitants of this region know more of the mountains and Santa Fe than of New York or New England. Our party goes with one of sixty men (Mr. William Sublette, our captain, is a well known trader.) to the headwaters of the Lewis River. He is the best guide of the country.

The narrative is again taken from Mr. Ball's journal :

We found that William Sublette and his men were encamped near Independence, Missouri. He readily consented to our joining his men; we must be under his full command and take our share in guarding camp and in defending in case of an attack by the Indians. Here we purchased more horses, having bought a few at Lexington to carry our baggage. Here a Mr. Campbell and his party also joined Mr. Sublette's party, making in all a party of eighty men and three hundred horses. Captain Wyeth's party consisted of twenty-five men. We took with us fifteen sheep and two yoke of oxen. Each man was to have charge of three horses, two packs and one to ride. We also took some extra horses in case some were stolen or worn out.

We were kept in strict military order, and marched double file. Those first ready took their places next to the commander. We always camped in the form of a hollow square, making a river or stream the fourth side. The horses were hobbled (fore feet tied) and turned out of camp to feed. When brought into camp at night they were left hobbled, and were tied to stakes driven close to the ground, giving each horse as much room as could be spared him within the square. The watch changed every four hours. If found asleep, the watch was obliged to walk the next day for punishment. Captain Sublette's camp calls were as follows: "Catch up; catch up," which was at sunset. Then each man brought his horses into camp. At dawn the call was "Turn out; turn out," and then horses were turned out of camp to feed, while we breakfasted. Then the horses were saddled and packed. At noon a stop was always made for half an hour. The horses were unpacked to rest them, each horse carried one hundred and eighty pounds. Not being able to trot with this load, they soon formed the habit of walking fast.

There was so little dew or rain that we did not need our tents, so we slept on the ground wrapped in our blankets, our saddles for pillows. I always wrapped myself first in my camlet cloak, pulling the cape over my head to shut off the wind or moon. This was our camp routine until we reached the Rocky Mountains.

May 12—Left Independence, traveling west on the Santa Fe road. The fifteenth we left Santa Fe trail, going northwest to the Kansas

River to a government agency there. The country was mostly hilly, the hills being of shell-filled sandstone and boulders of quartz and granite. The last white man we saw was a blacksmith for the Indians, who had his smithy on the Kansas, near where Lawrence now is.

We passed an Indian village, which was entirely deserted, as all had gone buffalo hunting. The Indians always go out for buffalo once a year and bring home the meat to dry for winter. Their wigwams were made by sticking poles in the ground in circular form, covering the whole with buffalo skins, and leaving an opening at the top for the smoke to get out. Here we found game and honey in abundance, but no Indians.

May 21—We encamped on a branch of the Kansas called the Big Blue, which we crossed the next day and passed Captain Bonneville's party on a trading excursion by wagon. We stopped a few moments to salute and passed on. The next day we passed another Indian village, probably winter quarters. There were holes dug in the ground some five or six feet deep and covered with split plank or brush, so making warm quarters in severe weather. But this, too, was deserted. We kept up the waters of the Blue to its source, and thence reached the Platte in one day's march of twenty-five miles over barren, dry prairie.

We found no timber of any amount after leaving the waters of the Blue. We could not carry our percussion caps on our guns for fear of discharging them, the air was so very dry. We reached the Platte opposite a big island, probably Grand Island, on May 28, and continued up the Platte a hundred and sixty-five miles to junction of the forks, which we reached June 2.

The Platte is a broad, turbulent stream and warm. Its bed is a mile or two wide. Here we saw the first buffalo and ate our last meal of packed provisions.

There was a great deal of grumbling among Captain Wyeth's men. Some deserted and turned back. We all felt gnawings of hunger and were very thirsty. The warm water of the Platte was not refreshing. June 3 we saw a frightful drove of buffalo appearing as far as the eye could reach, as if the ground was a sea of them. Such armies of them see and fear nothing. Sublette's men killed ten or twelve, of which we had only two. The others the wolves carried off.

The warm water of the Platte caused diarrhœa. Dr. Jacob Wyeth, the captain's brother, was quite ill. But for the guidance of Captain Sublette we must have perished for the want of subsistence in this desert of the Missouri.

June 4—We crossed the south branch after we had gone some fifty miles from the forks, and a short ride of ten miles over the bluffs brought us to the North Platte. There was little timber along this stream. We continued up this river two hundred and eighty-seven

miles. June 8 we killed some more buffalo as they came out of the water. There was great sameness of the scenery, and we passed many trails but saw no Indians yet.

June 10—We saw ahead of us a big castle on a small mountain. As we approached it, it appeared like a big tower of sandstone standing alone. It was called the "Chimney Rock," and is probably three hundred feet high. On the south side of the Platte were immense herds of buffalo.

June 12—We arrived at the Laramie Fork of the Platte. It was high, cold, and rapid, and comes from the mountains of the same name. The banks of this stream were covered with willows. Here we made a halt to make "bull boats" and rafts to carry ourselves and goods across.

A "bull boat" is made of willow branches twelve or fourteen feet long, each about one and one half inches at the butt end. These ends were fixed in the ground in converging rows at proper distances from each other, and as they approached nearer the ends the branches were brought nearer together so as to form something like a bow. The ends of the whole were brought together and bound firmly together like ribs of a great basket; and then they took other twigs of willow and wove them into those stuck in the ground so as to make a sort of firm, long, huge basket. After this was completed they sewed together a number of buffalo skins and with them covered the whole; and after the different parts had been trimmed off smooth, a slow fire was made under the "bull boat," taking care to dry the skins moderately; and as they gradually dried and acquired a due degree of heat they rubbed buffalo tallow all over the outside of it so as to allow it to enter into all the seams of the concern, now no longer a willow basket. As the melted tallow ran down into every seam, hole, and crevice, it cooled into a firm body, capable of resisting the water and bearing a considerable blow without damage. Then the willow-ribbed buffalo skin tallowed vehicle was carefully pulled from the ground—behold! a boat, capable of transporting men, horses, and goods over a pretty strong current.

At the sight of it we Yankees all burst into a loud laugh, whether from surprise or pleasure I do not know. Captain Wyeth made a raft against the advice of Captain Sublette, who did not believe the ropes strong enough to stand against the current. However, Captain Wyeth was not a man easily diverted by the advice of others.

We fixed a rope to our raft and with some difficulty got the other end across the river by a man swimming with the rope in his mouth. He fastened the rope to a tree, and we loaded our raft with our anvil, large vise, and other valuable articles belonging to the smithery, bar iron, steel traps, and alas! a cask of powder and a small number of valuable articles. When we got about halfway over the rope broke

and the raft caught under the limbs of a partly submerged tree and it tipped on one side, so we lost our iron articles and many of our percussion caps, as well as our powder, and our other goods were damaged. This was a very serious and absolutely irreparable loss.

June 15—We came to the Black Hills, so called because of the thick growth of cedar. Here, also, we found red sandstone. It was a region of rattlesnakes and large fierce bears. Some of the best hunters of Captain Sublette's party shot one five or six times before they killed him. Snow was seen on the mountains, although the middle of June. We crossed a spur of these mountains while the main range lay away to the north.

June 16—It rained half a day. This is the first rain we have had. Here we took what was afterwards known as the "Laramie Pass."

June 18—We crossed the Platte, where it comes from the south. Along the river were beautiful flowers. We again used our "bull boats." After crossing we turned north five miles and then struck across a broken, hilly plain on both sides of the river, with no vegetation but sagebrush, grease brush, and wormwood. From an eminence we got our first view of the craggy granite peaks of Wind River Mountains.

June 23—We reached the Sweetwater, traveling through a naked, bleak country, the bare granite rocks lifting their craggy heads above the sea of sand and sandstone. There was no timber even on the river, but much snow on the mountains. At noon we reached "Independence Rock." It is like a big bowl turned upside down; in size about equal to two meeting houses of the old New England style. We encamped here. There being no timber in this valley, we had to dry buffalo dung or chips, as they are called, to use as fuel to cook by. This beautiful, clear, cool stream was a luxury, and a pleasant remedy for our sick. We wound our way as best we could through this pleasant valley, until the Sweetwater became a mere rivulet that one could step across. We crossed several snowdrifts on the way.

June 27—We encamped on the southeast foothills of the Wind River Mountains, and the last branch of the Sweetwater, and June 28 found us on the great watershed between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. It was on open prairie, with ranges of mountains on the north and immense prairies on the south. This is the celebrated South Pass, and from it the waters flow into the Gulf of Mexico and Gulf of California. On this extensive prairie buffalo are feeding by the hundred thousands. We continued traveling northwest, as near the foot of these mountains traveling was good.

June 30—We crossed a number of tributaries of the Colorado River.

July 2—Was cold. Our camp was fired on about midnight. Unperceived by the guards, the Indians approached the camp, gave their

whoop and fired with guns and arrows. They so frightened our horses that they broke loose and rushed out of camp. We were instantly on our feet (we always slept with our guns by our side). The Indians were not to be found. We collected our horses and retied them, laid down, and went to sleep again. The Indians had accomplished what they had aimed at, having stolen a dozen of our best horses. They were supposed to be "Blackfeet."

July 3—We followed up one of the branches of the Colorado and camped on Bull Creek.

July 4—It rained, snowed, and hailed. We passed the divide of the Columbia. The sand, limestone soil seemed good. Large snow-capped mountains were seen in the north, which we afterwards learned were the "Trois Teton," fifteen thousand feet high. The only way I had to ascertain our altitude was by the temperature of boiling water by my thermometer, which I made, allowing five hundred and thirty feet to a degree, eight thousand four hundred and eighty feet.

The days were very hot, thermometer 80°, and the nights cold, even freezing.

It is said by the Indians that the Lewis River rises in the "Trois Teton" in a lake.

Our way was becoming difficult. Our horses were worn out, and the men, although in a feeble condition, were compelled to walk. Food, too, became scarce. We met no more buffalo, but, fortunately, found some game of other kinds, and nothing came amiss except snakes.

Vegetation became better as we advanced, and we found some strawberries. On July 6 we arrived at the main branch of the Lewis River, Henry's Fork, coming from the northeast. We crossed its rapid current and came upon high ridges clothed with handsome pines and snowdrifts.

July 9—We met a party of Sublette's mountain trappers, who appeared liberal in their expenditures for their new bought luxuries, and who also seemed to be generally well satisfied with their wild life.

At the rendezvous at Pierre's Hole were also the Nez Peres and Flatheaded Indians, who appeared in their dress and person decent and interesting. They have many horses. Men, women, and children ride well. They all ride astride and mount from the right side. They encamp in buffalo skin lodges, which they always carry with them. The whites often adopt many of their manners, and often intermarry.

Reached the rendezvous that night. These Indians were decidedly honest and friendly. There were also some of the traders and trappers of the American Fur Company there. The Indians sold us fresh ponies or exchanged our lean ones for fresh ones. The full price of a pony was a blanket and a cheap knife. So we, as well as they, were supplied with what was needed.

These mountain ponies are of Arabian stock, brought over by the early Spaniards into Mexico. They are light and fleet and sure of foot. It is a grand sight to see a herd of them feeding with a mounted guard on their beautiful prairies. The guard's duty is to run them into camp if attacked by the Blackfeet, in whose country we were.

Here at Pierre's Hole (where Mr. Sublette met his party of trappers), as this valley is called, there are mountains on all sides, covered with snow. The water in the creek was 40° F. There was plenty of timber and good feed for the horses. I felt debilitated and tired from the long journey, but the Indians had plenty of dried buffalo meat and some roots. We ate the meat, lean and fat, like bread and cheese. I never witnessed so great a change among men as I witnessed here in a few days with plenty to eat and good water to drink. We were a mixed company, two hundred whites and as many Indians, and a social time we had in telling our varied experiences.

There is a mongrel language between the Indians and traders composed of French and English. A hog goes by the French name and birds are designated by their cries, etc.

Here we tested the honesty of the Indians. When we had bought a horse, and it had got away with theirs, they would bring it back time and time again. The Flathead chief would often mount his pony in the evening and give his people a lecture on morals and honesty. Here we were thousands of miles away from white settlement, and these were the first Indians we had really seen. Their dress was of a frock and leggings of dressed deerskins. A well dressed buffalo skin with the hair on for a blanket to ride on or to sleep in each Indian had with him. The frocks of the women were longer than the men. Both long and short were ornamented with fringe of skin, sometimes shells and feathers, and beads in their dress and hair. These mountain women are very bashful, blushing if looked at. They consider it an honor to be married to a white man, but it must be for life, or beware. Some of the men were very eager for vegetable food.

There were rounded stones in this valley, containing much quartz, and a fine gray sandstone.

July 14—We had rested here for five days, and oh! such a good rest. Captain Sublette had reached his journey's end. All but twelve of Wyeth's men had concluded to return East with Captain Sublette. We were anxious to go farther, even to the Pacific.

July 16—We twelve moved our camp up the creek towards Vanderburgh, eight miles, with Mr. Frap and Milton Sublette, a brother of Capt. William Sublette, and with twenty-two of their trappers and sixteen independent trappers, including some half-breeds and Indians, hoping to come out somewhere all right. Mr. Frap took the lead. We had a quiet night.

On the following morning, just as we had packed, ready for march, we saw a band of Indians in the direction in which we were to go. Mr. Frap sent an Indian and a half-breed named Antoine to meet them. As they approached, they discovered the Indians were Blackfeet. The chief left the party and came out in a friendly way to meet Antoine and his Indian companion. But Antoine's father had been killed by the Blackfeet: he was going to have his revenge then and there. So he said to the Indian "I'll appear friendly when we meet, but you watch your chance and shoot him." This he did. Antoine caught his robe or blanket of blue or red, turned and fled to camp. The Blackfeet fired after him, and as he rode into camp he said: "They were Blackfeet. We killed their chief. Here is his robe." We, to our dismay, expected a battle, which we did not like. An express was sent back to Captain Sublette's camp to tell the state of affairs and ask assistance.

The whites and Indians returned in great numbers, Captain Sublette going against the Blackfeet on his own account. The Blackfeet by this time had built a breastwork by the creek, taking their women and horses inside with them.

We had hastily thrown up a breastwork of our saddles. There was a hard fight until sunset. The Indians always lay down on their backs while loading their guns, and sometimes fire lying down. The Indians considered the leaden bullet a sort of thunder and lightening death, and the whites did not think the barbed arrows any better. At sundown we retired and encamped. A Mr. Sinclair died of his wounds that night. During the battle I was left in charge of the horses and camp and took care of the wounded.²⁹

The next night we returned to the rendezvous, and in the horse pen buried Mr. Sinclair. Mr. Wm. Sublette was wounded. There were eight whites and as many friendly Indians killed, and some others wounded. After breakfast we visited the enemy's camp and found some twenty-five dead horses and two dead women. There were ten scalps taken by our Indians from the Blackfeet. We concluded that the reason they had left their dead was because there was not enough of them left to carry them off.

This affair detained us three days. We buried all the dead in the horse pen, as the ground was so well trodden they couldn't be found. They would, we knew, be sought for their scalps.

The wounded were carried on stretchers to Sublette's camp. A bier was made by suspending trees covered with blankets between two horses, one in front of the other.

July 24—We quit camp, going south by the battle ground of the eighteenth: got but ten miles along. The next day was showery, but

²⁹ Washington Irving, in "Bonneville's Adventures," describes this battle. Bonneville was encamped not far from there at the time.

we traveled to the south. Vegetation was forward, especially flax and currants of an orange color.

July 26—We crossed the Lewis River in the bull boat, where Fort Hall now is. Three of the men left us here to trap alone. The white and variegated marble and melted rock showed the effects of volcanic action. The vegetation was diversified and timber of various kinds grew in abundance. We had a little rain. Traveling to the southwest we crossed several creeks with volcanic bluffs on either side of blacksmith-cinder-like rocks, often pentagonal in form, although they had not lost their stratification. In examining the rocks, was nearly bitten by a rattlesnake.

We found many berries and currants, red and black, also orange in color. On the twenty-eighth passed Gray's Fork to Gray's Hole. The Trois Tetons were still in sight to the northeast. Grass was good, the buffalo fat, and we staid in camp two days drying meat. We then crossed Blackfoot Creek to a hilly and wooded country with high basaltic rocks in perfect pentagonal form.

August 1—Mrs. Milton Sublette (a squaw) had a child, and the next day she mounted her horse, the babe was put in a basket feet down and hung on the pommel of her saddle, and she rode fifteen miles that day. Mrs. Sublette also had a child about three years of age who rode a gentle pony. The child was so fastened on by blankêts as to keep it upright, and the pony followed the train with loose horses, never straying far with its charge. The thermometer fell to 20° F. We traveled to the southeast, crossing the Blackfoot to a branch of the Port Neuf, over an extensive prairie, which they say extends to Bear River of the Salt Lake country, a hundred miles distant.

August 5—In camp drying more meat. Saw a white wolf and some crows eating together on a buffalo carcass. There are two kinds of wolves here, that make the nights hideous. We traveled down the Port Neuf to the south eighteen miles, crossed it, and encamped on a branch for two days.

August 11—We started to the west, encamped on a small creek, and the next day continued southwest on same creek. Here the sixteen independent trappers quit us, going south into California.

August 13—We traveled west northwest over two ridges, the first limestone, the second volcanic, and came in view of the Lewis River at the American Falls. The course of the river is nearly west. Extensive plains stretched away to the north, and a far-off snow-clad mountain range was seen. Here I lost my pocket thermometer. We traveled to the southwest away from the Lewis River and encamped on the Cassia. Vegetation was rank. Next we traveled up the Cassia to the south over barren plains of prickly pears and sage, and encamped in high grass on a creek coming in from the west. Vegetation was

rich. We continued up the creek to the west, and found plenty of dry grass well liked by animals. The hills on either side were of stratified basaltic rock and white marble. There were many berries which formed a good sauce to go with our dried meat, and the water was good.

August 17—We continued our journey over mica slate ridges: snow was seen north and south on the mountains.

August 20—There was frost in the forenoon, but in the afternoon very hot, with some clouds and thunder, but no rain. We experienced many days of this kind. We passed several large hot springs. Not knowing they were hot, I was much startled when I stooped to drink from one of them and found the water very hot, probably 100° or more.

August 21—We met some Shoshone Indians, or Diggers, as they are often called. They appeared leaner and poorer, even in their clothes, than those we had seen before. They were armed only with bows and arrows. They had earthen pots and baskets in which they carried their water, and boiled their fish in the baskets by putting in hot stones, which, with the camas and white roots, formed their diet.

August 22—We started northwest, leaving the Cassia on the right, passed several limestone ridges, with high mountains in the west, covered with snow, and came into a barren plain and encamped on a small creek. None of our company knew where we were. The next day we traveled over the barren plain fifteen miles, came to a large creek from the south, which joined one coming from the northeast, passing through "Cat Creek."

August 24—We went up the creek to the south fifteen miles; then west five miles and encamped. There was volcanic rock all about us, and beyond high conical mountains, the range running east and west. The coal like rock looked like burnt granite, with some sandstone. There was no timber on the stream but the willow.

August 26—We traveled southwest over the barren plains, open to the south as far as the eye could reach. We encamped on a small creek running southeast, which we afterwards learned was the Humboldt River. We continued up the creek to the northwest six miles and took an Indian trail in a southwest direction, reaching the creek at its source, which ran to the northwest.

Here we parted with Messrs. Sublette and Frap, who were going west to trap. We twelve continued down this creek eighteen miles. This first night that we twelve adventurers were alone was full of curiosity and anxiety for the future for all of us in that unknown country. Our aim was to get back to Lewis River. We had traveled to the southwest since we had first crossed it: to get back to it and follow it to the junction with the Columbia was our plan.

We were now at what I knew was the headwaters of the Owyhee River, then supposed to be the eastern boundary of Oregon. We continued down this canyon of burnt granite, mica, slate, etc., for several days, and saw many curious things. In one case there was a stone resting on a column as if just balanced there. We then traveled northwest over a very even plain, with some sagebrush, but saw water only once.

September 1—Some thirty miles from the stream, there was a kind of well in the rocks. Snowy mountains were visible to the north, and country descended in that direction. We encamped on the plain, the Owyhee being a thousand feet below us. The rocks appeared like a burnt brickkiln. We saw some Indian with dried fish, and bought some, then ascended the bluffs on the west. We saw horses tracks down the steep bluffs, which with difficulty we descended, to our joy to quench our thirst and that of our horses.

September 9—We visited a large Indian encampment or village. They were fishing. Their ingenious mode was very interesting. The stream was shallow. They built a fence across it near its mouth (we were now at the mouth of the Owyhee). Then leaving some distance above they made a weir at one side so that the fish coming down or coming up would go in, but were unable to find their way out. Then they speared them. Their spears were made having a bone point with a socket that fitted into a shaft or pole, and a hole was drilled through the bone point by which a string tied it to the shaft. At sunrise a signal was given by their chief: they all rushed from both sides into the stream, struck the salmon with their spears, and in each case the point would come off, but being fastened to the shaft by a string, the fish were easily towed ashore.

The chief of this village accompanied us down the stream six miles. I here lost my hatchet, given me by Doctor Bristmaide of Troy, New York. We reached the Lewis River September 10, and continued down the river, trapping wherever we saw signs of the beavers.

September 17—We had some fresh fish boiled in baskets, the water being kept boiling by hot stones. For a day we went up a creek from the southwest trapping. Our horses were cut loose at night by the Indians, and my camlet cloak was stolen. As a general rule, the Indians were kind and friendly, and would make us presents of food, but they could not forego the attempt to steal our horses (of which we had two to each man) any more than a negro can leave a hen roost alone. The Indians we met were Shoshones or the Pallotipallos, or Flatheads, so called from the fact that the foreheads of all members of the tribe are flattened during infancy. The operation is performed by tying boards hewn to proper shape for the purpose, which compress the head, one being placed against the forehead and tied to another at

the back, on which the infant is placed. The more the head is misshaped the greater the supposed beauty.

September 20—We met Mr. Sublette and Mr. Frap. They went to the southwest. There was little timber in this region. When two or three of us went up trapping, we tied our horses' halters to our arms at night, so as to be sure not to lose them. We traveled slowly, trapping on the streams coming from the west. At last we got tired, not having good luck, and the fish being bad. We tried to make the Indians understand that we wanted to go to Walla Walla. That being the only word in common between us, the conversation had to be by signs. An Indian drew a map on the sand; one sign meant river, making a motion of paddling; another the trail, by pointing to a horse. We understood that we were to keep down the river three sleeps (laying his head on his hand and shutting his eyes three times) thus giving us to understand we were to go by day, and if we whipped up, could cover the ground in two days. There the river went into the mountains, and we were to go over these mountains, and sleep; then another range, and sleep; then making a sign of a plain, then two more sleeps, and then Walla Walla. I was quite confident I understood him, if it was by signs. It proved as he said, and was a great help to us. Lewis and Clark speak of the destitute condition of these Flathead Indians.

Not knowing just where we were, and not taking the precaution to buy a supply of dried fish, and meeting no more Indians, we soon got short of food. We made some thirty miles a day some days over the prairie, for when we arrived at the mountains we were in a sad plight. We were thoroughly exhausted by hard travel and the horses were no better.

October 12—Having nothing to eat, we killed an old horse, and as hungry as we were, we did not relish it. We vowed if we killed another we would take a young one. The meat of a good horse tastes like venison.

October 13—Captain Wyeth took four men and the best horses and started ahead for Walla Walla, requesting me to follow the next day. Traveling was hard and the ground frozen. We continued traveling north northwest and came to a broken plain.

October 14—I had schooled myself to one meal a day, so had reserved part of my rations. Here I noticed in the western horizon something stationary, although it looked like a cloud in the bright sky. It proved (I afterwards found) the grand and snowy Mount Hood. I called the attention of the men to it. This we hailed as a discovery, and the grandest sight we had yet seen. We saw no water all day, but encamped at night on the bank of a creek which came from the west. Here we found berries which was all we had for supper. Here were many trails.

The next day we took the one most trodden, as I felt sure this creek was the Walla Walla. We followed the old trail along the bottoms of the creek. There was some fine timber now, but nothing to eat. We came to an Indian encampment the seventeenth and got some food. Before we came to the Indians, I had proposed to the rest of the party to kill another horse, but hungry as we were, we preferred to push on. The food we got from the Indians consisted of dried bear meat and elder berries, which we bought. I did not feel as ravenous as the other men, who ate until I urged them to stop, for fear of the result. The next day, after a fifteen-mile ride, we arrived at Fort Walla Walla on October 18, where we found Captain Wyeth, who had been there two or three days.

The fort was built of upright timbers set in the ground. The timbers were some fifteen or eighteen feet high. A small stockade, with stations or bastions at the corners for lookouts. The Hudson Bay Company kept a fort here for the trade. There was a clerk and half a dozen men.

We were received kindly, and for the first time since we left the forks of the Platte on June 1 we tasted bread. It was a very interesting and gratifying sight to look on the Columbia (Fort Walla Walla stands where Walla Walla Creek empties into the Columbia) after our long and tedious journey.

The country around was barren. Rain, if they had any, commenced later in the season. There is little or no timber. Wild sage grows from five to six feet high, and is found everywhere on mountains and plains. It has ash colored leaves, and is bitter like the garden sage. Where nothing else is found, it is eaten by buffalo and deer. Here we decided to leave our faithful horses and descend the river in boats, which we began the day after our arrival.

October 19—We took a boat of the Hudson Bay Company and two of their men (Canadians) and started down the river. We soon came to high basaltic bluffs, almost perpendicular, with only a narrow shore of grass and sand. The clear ocean blue water swept us swiftly on. We ascended the bluffs at night and there encamped. We found above a grassy plane, but no timber.

October 20—We encamped on the left shore. The Indians of this section were not so respectable in appearance as those we had seen. They subsisted mainly on bad fish and a few roots. There were snow-clad mountains on the south.

October 21—We passed the picturesque rocks rising terrace on terrace. The night of the twenty-second some Indians brought us a nice fat horse to eat for supper, which proved very good. We found many roots and berries, which were also very good. Although we had

brought plenty of food from the fort for the voyage, the horse did not taste like the poor one killed by us in the Blue Mountains.

October 24—We passed the falls, where we made a short portage, and again at the dalles, or narrows, through which the river rushes. At its low stage a boat can pass through it. I was told this was six miles below the falls. The bluffs stand out prominently, frequently of pentagonal form. Lewis and Clark called them "High Black Rocks," which indeed they are. We finally came to the cascades, where the river rushes through a break in the mountains. They are so called from the thousands of beautiful cascades falling from these mountains.

October 26—It rained harder than I had seen it in five months. The mountains became thickly timbered to the snow line. The next day we came to the tide water, one hundred and eighty miles from its mouth.

October 28—We encamped at the sawmill of the Hudson Bay Company, which was superintended by Mr. Cannon, one of J. J. Astor's men, who came out with Mr. Hunt in 1811.

October 29—We arrived at Fort Vancouver, it having taken us nine days to come down the river, some two hundred miles. Fort Vancouver is an extensive stockade, enclosed on a prairie back from the river. It includes the storehouses and the houses for governor and partners, as the clerks were called. For the servants and Frenchmen there were little houses outside of the fort. This was the main station of the Hudson Bay Company west of the mountains, and to this place shipping came.

Lewis and Clark spoke of what a great harbor the Columbia might be: "That large sloops could come up as high as the tide waters, and vessels of three hundred tons burden could reach the entrance of the Multnomah River." Fort Vancouver is situated on the right-hand side going down the river (now in Washington state). We were a hard looking set, owing to our hard life, but we were most hospitably received in spite of the awkward and suspicious circumstances in which we appeared. There had been some farming done about the fort for some seven years previous.

November 3—Five of us started down the river in an Indian canoe. We could not go before, as it had rained. The country continued low on both sides of the river. Mount Hood on the south, Saint Helens on the north, in the rear of which appeared an hexagonal cone, white and beautiful (not then named; afterwards known as Mount Rainier).

November 4—We passed many of the company's sloops, and Indians singing as they paddled their canoes. We saw also many white geese and ducks. We encamped on the shore opposite an island, used by the Indians as a burial ground. Their way of burial was odd. They

wrapped the body of a warrior in his clothing, and with his mats, placed it in his own canoe, which they placed in some conspicuous point, on the shore of the river on the island, covered it with split plank and loaded it down with stone, so the wolves and other animals could not get at it. All property of the dead was also put into the canoe. To rob a grave is a *very* great crime. The island was called "Coffin Island," because there were so many of the canoes of their dead on it. As we went on shore to camp here, we went to a house, and got some wappato—a root much eaten by the Indians.

November 5—We continued down the river. The banks became broken and heavily timbered as far down as Tongue Point, where we encamped in sight of Fort George, and overlooking the sea. The next day we went to Fort George, or "Astoria," and were well received.

A tree near the fort had recently fallen. Some said it was forty-seven feet in circumference, and others said seven fathoms. I do not think either exaggerated.

November 8—We went over the hills to Young's Bay, where Lewis and Clark wintered, calling their camp "Clatsop Camp." We saw many enormous trees, two hundred feet high and from forty to fifty feet in girth. In fact, everything, even to the brakes, were of gigantic size. Still the potatoes on the clearing near the fort were small, and the soil looked poor.

November 9—We got a yawl and a man to sail it, and crossed over to Chinook Point on the east, encamped, and at low tide went three miles around the point to the seashore. I urged the men to go with me, but all declined. So I went alone to look on the broad Pacific, with nothing between me and Japan. Standing on the brink of the great Pacific, with the waves washing my feet, was the happiest hour of my long journey. There I watched until the sun sank beneath the water. Then by the light of the moon, I returned to camp, feeling I had not crossed the continent in vain.

November 11—We began returning slowly up the river. The Indians we found always peaceable, these traders having had the good sense and tact to keep them so, by always keeping faith and a good understanding with them. That day we went but five miles, keeping along the south shore. In the evening we were visited by Indians in a friendly way.

November 16—We arrived at Fort Vancouver, to learn that one of our twelve had died. He had stood the hardships of the journey well. He ate heartily at supper of pease, which gave him colic, of which he died before morning. It seemed very hard to us, who had borne so much.

The next day Mr. Wyeth and myself were invited by Doctor McLoughlin, the oldest partner and nominal governor, to his own table

and rooms at the fort. Others were quartered out of the fort. I soon gave Doctor McLoughlin and Captain Wyeth to understand that I was on my own hook, and had no further connection with the party. We were received with the greatest kindness as guests, which was very acceptable, or else we would have had to hunt for subsistence. But not liking to live *gratis*, I asked the doctor (he was a physician by profession) for some employment. He repeatedly answered me that I was a guest and not expected to work. But after much urging, he said if I was willing he would like me to teach his own son and the other boys in the fort, of whom there were a dozen. Of course I gladly accepted the offer. So the boys were sent to my room to be instructed. All were half-breeds, as there was not a *white* woman in Oregon. The doctor's wife was a "Chippewa," from Lake Superior, and the lightest woman was Mrs. Douglas, a half-breed, from Hudson Bay. I found the boys docile and attentive, and they made good progress. The doctor often came into the school, and was well satisfied and pleased. One day he said: "Ball, anyway you will have the reputation of teaching the *first* school in Oregon." So I passed the winter of 1832 and 1833.

The gentlemen of the fort were pleasant and intelligent. A circle of a dozen or more sat at a well-provided table, which consisted of partners, the clerks, Captain Wyeth, and myself. There was much formality at the table. Men waited on the table, and we saw little of the women, they never appearing except perhaps on Sunday or on horseback. As riders they excelled.

The national boundary had not been settled beyond the mountains at this time. The traders claimed the river would be the boundary. The south side the American. The fur trade was their business, and if an American vessel came up the river, or coast, they would bid up on furs, and if necessary a price ten to one above their usual prices. So American traders soon got entirely discouraged.

The voyage around Cape Horn to England was so long to take supplies, that the company brought a bull and six cows from California, and in seven years said they had raised from this start four hundred head of cattle. They plowed fields and raised good wheat. Salmon was so abundant that it was thrown away, to get some old imported salt beef. They had not as yet killed any of their stock.

In the spring of 1833 Captain Wyeth and two other of the men started on their return home across the plains. Others of the party went into the employ of the Hudson Bay Company.

I wrote letters home and sent by the Hudson Bay Express. Leaving Fort Vancouver March 20 each year, this express went north to about latitude 52°, then by men on snowshoes over the mountains, which takes them two weeks. Then they take bark canoes on the La Bashe (or Athabasca), which flows north: descend it a distance, and make a short portage at Fort Edmonton to the Saskatchewan River, down

that to Lake Winnipeg. There the express was divided, part going down the Lake to Nelson River, descending it to the Hudson Bay. The rest was taken up the Lake and across to Lake Superior, and on to Montreal. My friends in New York and New Hampshire got my letters in September. The postage was twenty-five cents.

The following is an extract from a letter written at Fort Vancouver February 23, 1833, by Mr. Ball to his parents :

Believing you still feel that interest in me that is usual to parents, and that you have always manifested towards me, I will inform you of my welfare.

My health has been uniformly good ever since I saw you some fifteen months ago, and never better than now. I wrote you from the mountains and hope my letters were received, and that this will be also.

I continued my journey across the country, leaving the place I wrote you from last July and arriving here at this place last October. Afterwards I went to the ocean, a hundred miles or more below here, then returned. Here I have been in comfortable quarters, teaching a few boys and enjoying the conveniences of home and good living.

This is a post of the Hudson Bay Company, which extends its trade of furs from Canada to this place. Here they have extensive fur operation, raise wheat, corn, pease, potatoes, etc., and have cattle, sheep, and hogs. I have been civilly treated by them, although I possessed no introductory letters or anything to recommend me, being destitute of everything. Little can be brought under any circumstances across such an extent of wilderness of country. Now I am going to the trade you taught me — farming — from which more comforts can be obtained with less labor, and it is more healthy than most others.

But perhaps I am too fast. You know your changeable weather brings on colds, and those colds, consumption. Here some three years past, some have had fever and ague, though never known even in the recollection of the natives before. I shall have to begin farming with a few tools, and accommodations. But mind you, my farm is cleared, and I have the choice of a tract as large as the whole State of New Hampshire, except what is taken by seven other farmers. I am going up the Multnomah or Willamette, near the mouth of which is the fort. I shall settle in the neighborhood of those already there. I have this week returned from looking out the place: find good soil, most of it prairie; still there is timber in abundance for fencing, fire, building, etc., well dispersed over the country. The white oak often grows on the plains like an orchard, and there are groves of pine and other timber. The same fir you have grows to a great height and

three or four feet through, answering for all the uses you put the white pine to. There is another tree, called the *red* fir. The timber is like the yellow pine, and grows immensely large.

The great advantage here is the climate, for there is so little winter that I found cattle, horses, and hogs on the Multnomah fat, though none of them had been fed this winter. In fact, I have not seen a flake of snow on the ground a moment, and hail but once, which lay two inches deep for one day. There was much rain in December and January, and it was so cold that the Columbia froze over, but the Multnomah did not. Some trees are now in blossom, and in favorable spots the fresh green grass has grown six inches high. The Indians have horses, which they sell at \$8.00 per head, but cattle are still scarce. There are none this side of California, except what has sprung from a bull and six cows brought from California seven years ago, if I have been rightly informed.

Anything can be raised here that can with you, any many things which can not be. Many kinds of fruit trees have been introduced which succeed well. But recollect, I am not in possession of these things myself, but hope to be after awhile from the generous conduct of those who are the owners. I have seen the country the description of which John Ordway gave you so interestingly when he returned from his tour with Lewis and Clark in 1806. The natives with their flattened heads are nearly the same, though a residence of some whites in their neighborhood for more than twenty years has doubtless had its effect. They have changed their skin dress to a considerable extent for cloth. Some wear nothing on their feet, and wear a kind of apron and blanket of skin. Some have adopted the dress of the whites. They are not a warlike people, in this quarter, though some individuals are killed, but in case of murder a payment of a valuable article is said to satisfy the friends of the departed.

Mr. Ball's journal continued :

When Doctor McLoughlin found I was bent on going to farming, he loaned me farming utensils and seed for sowing, and as many horses as I chose to break in for teams. I took the seed and implements by boat, getting help up the Willamette to the falls, (passing the site of Portland and beyond the now Oregon City,) about fifty miles from Fort Vancouver. We carried by the falls, boat and all, and first stopped with one of the neighbors, a half-breed, J. B. Desportes, who had two wives and seven children, and plenty of cats and dogs. I caught from the prairie a span of horses with a lasso, made a harness, and set them to work. For harness I stuffed some deerskins, sewed in proper form, for collars, fitted to them for the harness, crooked oak limbs tied top and bottom with elk skin strings. Then to these strips

of hide was fastened for tugs, which I tied to the drag made from a crotch of a tree. On this I drew out logs for my cabin, which, when I had laid up and put up rafters to make the roof, I covered with bark peeled from the cedar trees. This bark covering was secured by poles crossed and tied at the ends with wood strings to the timbers below. Then out of some split plank I made a bedstead and a table, and so I dwelt in a house of "fir and cedar."

An extract from a letter dated September 15, 1833, reads :

On the Willamette, about fifty miles from Fort Vancouver, in my own habitation, the walls of which are the cylindrical fir, and the roof thereof cypress and yew, greeting: After dissolving connection with N. J. Wyeth on the seventeenth of last November, I was invited by Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of the fort, (a man of first rate general intelligence, and if I am not mistaken, of very liberal views,) to take charge as a pedagogue of his own son and a few other boys in the fort for the winter. All the gentlemen within the fort ate at a common table, where the fare was plain but good, and there was much instructive conversation.

Here I passed the time, not disagreeably, until March. In February Capt. N. J. Wyeth and two men started for America by the mountains. In the same month I went up the Willamette about seventy-five miles to see the country: and the first of March, having no opportunity to return home immediately, Doctor McLoughlin offered me seed, a team, and farming utensils. I came to this place and commenced farming under many disadvantages. I boarded the first three months at J. B. Desportes, a half-breed, whose family consisted of two wives, besides one absent, by all seven children, four or five slaves and two or three hired Indians, besides cats and dogs without number. All inhabited one room in common.

I made horse harness, hoe handles, plowed, made fences, sowed and planted without help, except what I could get from a wild Indian, about six weeks in the spring. I built the house aforesaid, sleeping within its walls from the day it was commenced, and soon after built a little barn. I kept for food five bushels from the twenty-five secured for sowing, but have had no corn or potatoes for want of rain.

By July 10 my companion, Mr. Sinclair, was taken with fever and ague, and is now down again. I have had two attacks this month already, and have been unable to attend at all to things scientifically from the multiplicity of other business.

I enjoy no society except Sinclair's, and even my own house has not been enjoyed without the intrusion of those I did not wish. In fact, it is a country of falsehood and low cunning. The whites adopt,

in many things, the customs of the natives. Still, if one had learned their ways, he might get along very well: but as it is, and with no prospect of immigrants such as to change the tone of society, I shall soon depart from this coast, leaving for the present my home and farm.

On the Willamette strawberries and other plants are in flower, and trees in leaf in April. By April 15 the camas are in bloom, and plants of many kinds full grown. By May 15 strawberries are ripe and roses are in bloom. By June 1 pease are ripe, and by June 15 barley and winter wheat are headed. Many kinds of fruit grow well. On ground previously tilled, one would have a good crop most years of every kind desirable. Deer and elk are plentiful, and one can always get salmon at the falls to eat. Hogs, horses, and cattle are easily raised. Cattle, if large stock could be obtained, would be the best.

The journal continued:

Camas grow on the prairie about the size of an onion. The stem is about a foot high, having a blue blossom. It is palatable and nutritious as potatoes. The wappato, another root, is not as good, but grows larger. It is the root of a plant like the water lily. The Indians wade in up to their arms and break it off with their toes. Then it rises to the surface. The common way of cooking is by digging a hole in the ground, in which a stone is placed. A fire is built on the stone, and when it is heated the food is put on the hot stone wrapped in leaves, covered, and fire again built on top.

A part of the time while on my farm I suffered much with fever and ague, which proved so fatal with the Indians, partly, probably, because of their plunging into water when the fever came on. They were wonderfully aided by medicine procured from the whites. One instance shows its fatal effect on the Indians. At one time a trader returning to the fort came to their lodge, or village, on the river just below the mouth of the Multnomah. He there found a number of dead and unburied. The only one alive was an infant on its dead mother's breast. He carried the babe to the fort, where it was thriving when I was there. Many die of fright. They are superstitious people, and think that sickness and death are caused by the "Evil Spirit."

I had no nurse but my faithful friend Sinclair, who was sick, too. We got medicine from the fort, and it would hold up. Then we would be taken down again. Completely discouraged, I left my house on September 20. I sold my produce to the company at the fort. The grandeur of these beautiful mountains, Hood and Jefferson, and others not named on the south of the Columbia, as seen from the fort and my farm, were the hardest to leave. By the looks of the country I had passed through the year before, I knew they were volcanoes long

extinct. The Indians spoke of the "Evil Spirit" not disturbing them for forty snows (meaning forty years). The "Evil Spirit" caused the mountains to vomit fire, mud, and stones, but the Great Spirit had driven him away.

September 20—I left my farm with something of regret, but on the whole glad, seeing there was no prospect of any settlers and no society. Sick and discouraged I started down the river to the falls. Our Indian boy assisted us in carrying the boat. The boy said: "My people are all sick and dying. I'll be dead, too, when you come back." Below the falls I asked the chief for two of his men to row us to the fort. He answered that all his men were sick or dead, so we had to paddle our own canoe.

The proceeds of my farm enabled me to buy my passage in the fore-castle of the brig "Dryad," commanded by Captain Kipling, bound for the Sandwich Islands.

September 28—I boarded her, and she sailed down the Columbia from Fort Vancouver. October 6 we arrived at Fort George. The next day Duncan Finlayson, Esq., and Mr. David Douglas arrived to take passage in the brig, and by Mr. Finlayson's direction I was transferred to the cabin.

October 14—We anchored in Baker's Bay, under Cape Disappointment, from the top of which, called Fruzin's Head, was a fine view of the ocean and surf. In the bay at the mouth of the river were rocks. I should think they were "serpentine," and presented a somewhat burnt appearance.

Sailing down the shore we occasionally saw the coast, which appeared high and broken, but we were not near land until we approached Drake's Bay, where the hills and all the coast are quite destitute of timber, presenting a barren appearance.

November 4—We entered the bay of San Francisco, passing the fort and presidio, and came to anchor six miles or more up the bay. The next day we were visited onboard Don Jose Figueroa, general and governor of Upper California, missionary, commandant, etc.

The people were Spanish or Creole descent, all very dark and probably most of them of mixed blood. They dressed in various fashions, and always go about on horseback, and even draw wood,—drags, etc., by a lasso, tied to the pommel of the saddle, the man still riding. The Indians are darker and larger than those on the Columbia.

Immense herds of cattle and horses were grazing on the hills and plains. The inhabitants attended but little to agriculture, though the soil is good. I saw from the ship a Spaniard lasso a wild bullock by the horns. Another Spaniard threw his lasso so that the first move the animal made he stepped into it and was thrown down so as to butcher him. It was done almost in a twinkling, the horses keeping

their places. The end of the lasso was fastened to the pommel of the saddle. The men then dismounted to cut the bullock's throat.

One day I wandered to the mission; another day to the presidio. They are both built of mud or adobe, with tile roof, much dilapidated. Another time I wandered to the woods, and over the hills to the sea-shore and up to the Gate. I found in the grass, dismounted, three or four cannons, which probably were once used for guarding the entrance to the bay. (For want of "the needful" and not being well, I did not go about as much as I wished.)

The geology of the country is the same as at Cape Disappointment. The climate is lovely, and they say they seldom have frost. Most of the country east of the bay is an open prairie. Near the bay were some shrub oak and other small timber. On the distant mountains were large and lofty trees.

We came into this bay in company with an American whaler homeward bound, the *Helvetius*. Capt. George S. Brewster of New London, Connecticut. J. Sinclair and two others who crossed the mountains with me went on board of her. They left on the twenty-seventh. I met here a Mr. Renson, who resides up the coast and raises wheat to supply their trading post at Sitka and other places in Alaska. One of the articles of trade was tallow, sewed up in bags of skin. When asked about it, he said the French and Indians used it with corn and other grain to make their soup.

November 29—We sailed for the Sandwich Islands.

KATE N. B. POWERS.

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OF THE

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF OREGON FROM 1876-1898 INCLUSIVE.

By M. C. GEORGE.

At the commencement of this period the officers of the state were: Governor, L. F. Grover; secretary of state, S. F. Chadwick; treasurer, A. H. Brown; state printer, Mart. V. Brown; superintendent of public instruction, L. L. Rowland. All democrats save L. L. Rowland, republican.

Judges E. D. Shattuck, B. F. Bonham, John Burnett, L. L. McArthur, and P. P. Prim constituted the supreme court of the state, the members of which also performed circuit court duty in the several judicial districts of the state.

The district attorneys serving as state officers were H. Y. Thompson, J. J. Whitney, W. B. Laswell, C. W. Fitch, and H. K. Hanna.

Our United States senators were James K. Kelly, democrat, and John H. Mitchell, republican; and our

representative in congress was Lafayette Lane, democrat.

In the state election of 1876 H. K. Hanna, democrat, S. H. Hazard, democrat, George H. Burnett, republican, Raleigh Stott, republican, and L. B. Ison, democrat, were elected district attorneys. J. F. Watson, republican, R. P. Boise, republican, and L. L. McArthur, democrat, were elected supreme judges.

The republican state platform made the protective tariff a special feature, while the democratic state platform protested against it and denounced the evils of Chinese immigration, of monopolies, and of national banks, and demanded that all currency be issued directly by the general government; and called for the regulation and control of corporations, and asked for aid from the government to certain railroads. Both parties demanded a return to specie payments.

A democratic legislature was elected in 1876, which organized in September with John Whiteaker as president of the senate, and J. K. Weatherford as speaker of the house. At this session L. F. Grover, democrat, was elected United States senator for six years, from March 4, 1877, to succeed James K. Kelly. Mr. Grover received forty-eight votes, Jesse Applegate, republican, thirty-three, J. W. Nesmith, democrat, five, and T. F. Campbell, four.

Through an erroneous impression no congressman was voted for in June—the fact being overlooked that the new congressional law, regulating such elections and prescribing November as the time, had really excepted Oregon by excepting such states as had to change their state constitutions in order to change their state general elections.

At the presidential election in the fall, Richard Williams, republican, was elected by a vote of fifteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven over Lafayette Lane,

democrat, who was a candidate for re-election, receiving only fourteen thousand two hundred and thirty-nine votes.

Hayes and Wheeler carried the state over Tilden and Hendricks, and W. H. Odell, John C. Cartwright, and J. W. Watts, republicans, were chosen presidential electors. A question, however, was raised as to the eligibility of Mr. Watts, and Governor Grover awarded the certificate to Eugene Cronin, democrat, who had received nearly one thousand two hundred less votes. The after events are a part of the history of the nation.

On February 1, 1877, Governor Grover resigned to accept a seat in the United States senate, and Secretary of State S. F. Chadwick became acting governor of Oregon.

In 1878 the republicans nominated H. K. Hines for congress and adopted as a state platform resolutions opposing the repeal of the resumption act, and favoring a uniform currency, founded upon a coin basis, interchangeable and convertible at par at the pleasure of the holder. Also denouncing the democratic state administration as reckless and corrupt, and the leaders of the party as attempting to defraud Oregon out of an electoral vote. Also favoring the restriction of the treaty with China to commercial purposes only. At the election, John Whiteaker, democrat, was chosen representative in congress, defeating H. K. Hines, republican. The democratic state platform approved heartily the action of congress remonetizing silver (referring evidently to the Bland-Allison act). It also resolved "That money made or issued by the government should be of equal value, and that we are in favor of paying all the obligations of the government in greenbacks, so called, when the pecuniary interests of the people are promoted thereby, except when otherwise expressly provided." It favored

the repeal of the resumption act, and also the repeal of the national bank act, and the direct issue by the government of currency, receivable for all public dues, sufficient to supply the place of the present bank note circulation. Also favored reducing the tariff to a strictly revenue standard, and declared "that the interests of the great mass of people of the United States lie in the paths of unrestricted commerce." Also favored restriction of Mongolian immigration, and a subsidy for the Portland, Salt Lake and South Pass Railroad and the railroad to California, and an extension of time to the Northern Pacific Railroad to build under reasonable conditions.

At the election in 1878 the following state officers were elected :

Governor, W. W. Thayer, democrat ; secretary of state, R. P. Earhart, republican ; state treasurer, Edward Hirsch, republican ; state printer, William B. Carter, republican ; superintendent of public instruction, L. J. Powell, republican ; judge of supreme court, James K. Kelly, democrat ; circuit judge, P. P. Prim, democrat ; district attorneys, J. R. Neil, democrat ; S. H. Hazard, democrat ; J. J. Whitney, democrat ; J. F. Caples, republican ; L. B. Ison, democrat.

The legislature chosen was democratic, and organized with John Whiteaker as president of the senate and John M. Thompson as speaker of the house, and by a vote of forty-eight to forty, scattering, elected James H. Slater United States Senator for six years from March 4, 1879, to succeed John H. Mitchell.

In 1879 W. B. Carter, State Printer, died and W. P. Keady was appointed by the governor to fill the vacancy until the next general election.

In 1880 the republican state platform resolved in favor of a protective tariff. On the money question its declaration was somewhat notable, reading as follows :

“That to the republican party is due the credit of successful resumption and restored prosperity and business revival, and we insist that the *paper and coin* circulation of the country *shall at all times* be maintained *at par with the gold standard of the commercial world.*”

That was probably the first public platform utterance favoring the maintenance of parity of all coin and currency on a gold standard of valuation.

On this platform M. C. George was elected Oregon's representative in congress, defeating, by a majority of one thousand three hundred and ninety-seven, ex-Governor Whiteaker for re-election.

The democratic state platform that year opposed any and all protective tariff and on the money question it “Resolved, that while we recognize gold and silver as the constitutional currency and regard it as the real money, we deem any further contractions of the paper issues of the government unwise in the present financial condition.”

Whatever had heretofore been the platforms concerning tariff, the congressional campaign for that year (1880) was the first time in the history of the state when the canvass was mainly upon a protective tariff issue.

At that election, E. B. Watson, William P. Lord, and John B. Waldo, all republicans, were elected to constitute the new supreme court, whose members were no longer to do circuit court duty. This new supreme court was in fulfillment of that clause in our state constitution providing that “When the white population of the state shall amount to two hundred thousand the legislative assembly may provide for the election of supreme and circuit judges in distinct classes.”

W. H. Odell was also elected at this time state printer to fill the vacancy caused by the death of W. B. Carter.

The legislature elected in June, 1880, being repub-

lican, organized in September by electing Sol Hirsch as president of the senate and Z. F. Moody as speaker of the house.

The following were elected circuit judges: First district, H. K. Hanna; second district, J. F. Watson; third district, R. P. Boise; fourth district, Raleigh Stott; fifth district, L. L. McArthur.

Also the following district attorneys: First district, T. B. Kent; second district, J. W. Hamilton; third district, W. G. Piper; fourth district, John F. Caples; fifth district, D. W. Bailey.

At the fall election the Garfield and Arthur presidential electors, to wit, George B. Currey, C. B. Watson, and E. L. Applegate, beat the Hancock and English electors about six hundred and seventy-one votes in the state.

In 1882 neither of the state political platforms had any especially notable features.

At the June election M. C. George, republican, was re-elected representative in congress, receiving a majority of three thousand three hundred and sixty-five votes over William D. Fenton, democrat. The state officers elected were: Governor, Z. F. Moody, republican; secretary of state, R. P. Earhart, republican (re-elected); state treasurer, Edward Hirsch, republican (re-elected); state printer, W. H. Byars, republican; superintendent of public instruction, E. B. McElroy; supreme judge, William P. Lord (re-elected). R. S. Bean was elected circuit judge in the second district, and the district attorneys were as follows: First district, T. B. Kent; second district, E. G. Hursh; third district, W. H. Holmes; fourth district, John F. Caples; fifth district, T. C. Hyde. The legislature chosen in 1882 was republican, and organized by electing W. J. McConnell President of the Senate, and George W. McBride Speaker of the House. J. N. Dolph

was elected United States senator to succeed Hon. L. F. Grover.

At the close of the year 1883 Judge Raleigh Stott resigned, and Governor Moody appointed Seneca Smith his successor.

In 1884 the political platforms in Oregon generally followed the national platforms respectively, and both favored forfeiture of all unearned land grants.

Binger Hermann, republican, was elected member of congress over John Myers, democrat, and W. W. Thayer, democrat, was elected judge of the supreme court. The following were the circuit judges elected: First district, L. R. Webster; fourth district, Seneca Smith; fifth district, F. J. Taylor; sixth district, M. L. Olmstead. The following were the district attorneys: First district, T. B. Kent; second district, J. W. Hamilton; third district, George E. Chamberlain; fourth district, John M. Gearin; fifth district, T. A. McBride; sixth district, M. D. Clifford. At the fall election Blaine and Logan carried the state over Cleveland and Hendricks by a plurality of about two thousand two hundred and sixty-five votes, and D. P. Thompson, Warren Truitt, and John C. Leasure were chosen as presidential electors.

The legislature chosen in June, 1884, was republican, but owing to a change in the time of meeting, organized in January, 1885, with William Waldo as president of the senate, and W. P. Keady as speaker of the house. After fruitlessly balloting sixty-nine times, during the entire session, for United States senator, during which time Sol. Hirsch received generally about thirty-three votes, the legislature adjourned with no election. At a special session in the following November, John H. Mitchell was elected United States senator to succeed James H. Slater.

In 1886 Binger Hermann was re-elected to congress over N. H. Butler on a republican platform saying,

among other things, "We believe that the coin of the country should be gold and silver, and that our paper currency should be maintained and convertible thereto at par, and we favor such legislation as shall in the future maintain the use of both metals as a circulating medium, and we favor international arbitration with a view to determine and establish a uniform ratio between gold and silver."

The democratic state platform was silent on the money question, and otherwise both platforms followed the usual national lines.

Sylvester Pennoyer, democrat, was chosen governor over Thomas Cornelius, republican, and George W. McBride, republican, was elected secretary of state; G. W. Webb, democrat, state treasurer; R. S. Strahan, democrat, supreme judge; E. B. McElroy, republican, superintendent of public instruction, and Frank C. Baker, republican, state printer.

The following were our circuit judges: First district, L. R. Webster; second district, R. S. Bean; third district, R. P. Boise; fourth district, E. D. Shattuck and L. B. Stearns; fifth district, F. J. Taylor; sixth district, L. B. Ison; seventh district, J. H. Bird. District Attorneys: First district, William M. Colvig; second district, J. W. Hamilton; third district, G. W. Belt; fourth district, Henry E. McGinn; fifth district, T. A. McBride; sixth district, M. D. Clifford; seventh district, W. R. Ellis.

The legislature was republican and organized in January, 1887, by choosing J. C. Carson president of the senate and J. T. Gregg speaker of the house.

In 1888 Binger Hermann was re-elected to congress. The democratic candidate was John M. Gearin. The republican platform dealt largely in criticism of the tariff policy of the national democratic administration, favored

protection, opposed Chinese immigration and found fault generally with President Cleveland's administration.

The democratic platform, on the contrary, indorsed Cleveland and his policy, and in other matters demanded forfeiture of railroad grants and opposed Mongolian immigration. In these state platforms in this as well as in nearly all the years, each party protested its special fealty to its own time honored principles, and denounced those of the opposite party, and both claimed special devotion to the welfare of the tax payers and the people generally. As to whether either has ever fallen short in practice might require a historical sketch more extended than this.

In June, 1888, James A. Fee was elected circuit judge in district No. 6, and the following were elected district attorneys: First district, William M. Colvig; second district, J. W. Hamilton; third district, H. H. Hewitt; fourth district, H. E. McGinn; fifth district, T. A. McBride; sixth district, J. L. Rand, and seventh district, W. R. Ellis.

In the fall election of 1888 Benjamin Harrison carried the state for the presidency by a plurality of over six thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine over Cleveland, the republican presidential electors, to wit, Robert McLean, William Kapus, and C. W. Fulton defeating W. H. Effinger, W. R. Bilyeu, and E. R. Skipworth, democrats. The legislature, which had been elected in June, 1888, was republican, organized in January, 1889, by electing Joseph Simon President of the Senate and E. L. Smith Speaker of the House, and at this session Joseph N. Dolph was re-elected United States senator for Oregon.

In 1890 Binger Hermann was re-elected representative in congress, defeating Robert A. Miller, democrat. The republican state platform favored the enactment of the Australian ballot, a protective tariff, the forfeiture

of the railroad land grant from Wallula to Portland, the restriction of Chinese immigration, internal improvement, an eight hour law, and denounced trusts.

On the money question its declaration was noticeable: "that recognizing the fact that the United States is the greatest silver producing country in the world, and that both gold and silver were equally the money of the constitution from the beginning of the republic until the hostile legislation against silver, which unduly contracted the circulating medium of the country, and recognizing that the great interests of the people demand more money for use in the channels of trade and commerce, therefore, we declare ourselves in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and denounce any attempt to discriminate against silver as unwise and unjust."

The democratic state platform on the silver question was equally red hot on the trail, and after condemning the tariff bill and denouncing Speaker Reed, and favoring forfeiture of all unearned land grants and the enactment of an eight hour law, sought to give the "gold bugs" the warm end of the poker, as follows: "We reaffirm the position which has ever been maintained by the democratic party that gold and silver are equally the people's money. We are opposed to all measures of discrimination against silver, and demand free coinage to supply the needs of business, and that all money issued by the government be made legal tender for all debts, both public and private."

Both platforms were condemned as to the money question by the leading daily of Portland, which said, "the men in both parties have assented to a policy in regard to silver that they know is erroneous."

Governor Pennoyer was re-elected over D. P. Thompson, republican. The other state officers were: George W. McBride, republican, secretary of state; Phil Met-

schan, republican, state treasurer; Frank C. Baker, republican, state printer; E. B. McElroy, republican, superintendent of public instruction; R. S. Bean, republican, supreme judge; M. D. Clifford, Circuit Judge of sixth district. The following were the district attorneys: First district, W. M. Colvig; second district, S. W. Condon; third district, George G. Bingham; fourth district, T. A. Stephens; fifth district, T. A. McBride; sixth district, C. F. Hyde; seventh district, W. H. Wilson.

The legislature was republican, and organized January, 1891, with Joseph Simon President of the Senate and T. T. Geer Speaker of the House. John H. Mitchell was re-elected United States senator. This legislature created the office of attorney-general, and George E. Chamberlain was appointed by the governor.

In 1892 the State of Oregon, on reapportionment being entitled to two representatives in congress, Binger Hermann was re-elected for the first congressional district over R. M. Veatch, democrat, and W. R. Ellis, republican, for the second over ex-Senator James H. Slater.

The republican platform followed the usual lines, and on money matters indorsed the Sherman act as "adding the silver product of the United States to the people's currency." It favored a boat railway at the Dalles and the election of senators by direct vote of the people, the construction of ample defense of our coast and the building of an efficient navy.

The democratic platform endorsed the national platforms of 1884 and 1888, pointed with pride to the administration of Cleveland, condemned the billion-dollar congress, and denounced the McKinley tariff as the blighting iniquity of the age; demanded tariff reform, believed in honest money,—the gold and silver coinage of the constitution,—and in currency convertible into such coin without loss and of sufficient value to meet all demands of

the people, all money to be of equal monetary value and of equal purchasing power, and all currency redeemable in gold or silver, at the option of the holder and not at the discretion of the secretary of the treasury. It also favored pensions, election of senators by the people, and various other good things.

F. A. Moore, republican, was elected supreme judge, George E. Chamberlain, democrat, was elected attorney-general, and the legislature was republican.

The following were the circuit judges: First district, H. K. Hanna and W. C. Hale; second district, J. C. Fullerton; third district, George H. Burnett; fourth district, E. D. Shattuck and L. B. Stearns; fifth district, T. A. McBride; sixth district, M. D. Clifford; seventh district, W. L. Bradshaw. The district attorneys were: First district, H. L. Benson; second district, Seymour W. Condon; third district, James McCain; fourth district, W. T. Hume; fifth district, W. N. Barrett; sixth district, Charles F. Hyde; seventh district, W. H. Wilson.

At the fall election Harrison had twenty thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine plurality over Cleveland, and eight thousand one hundred and twenty-seven over Weaver; and the republican presidential electors chosen were John F. Caples, D. M. Dunne, and G. M. Irwin. Nathan Pierce was also chosen through the fusion of the opposition votes on him.

The legislature, on convening in January, 1893, elected C. W. Fulton as president of the senate, and W. P. Keady as speaker of the house.

In 1894 the republican platform reaffirmed its policy of protection, and denounced the action of the democratic party in congress for its discrimination against Oregon fields, forests, and mines. On money matters it adopted the statement of the national republican platform of 1882 favoring bimetallism and the parity of the two metals,

and all dollars, paper or coin. It also favored the Nicaragua Canal and restricted foreign immigration.

The democratic state platform resolved for income tax, the Nicaragua Canal, liberal pensions, election of senators by the people, and opposed Chinese and pauper immigration, the federal election law, and all measures discriminating against silver. It demanded free coinage "to supply the demands of business," and that all money be made a full legal tender.

The people's party resolved against the vicious financial system of Great Britain and the issuance of gold bonds, and hauled both the old parties over the coals generally.

W. P. Lord, republican, was elected governor; H. R. Kincaid, republican, secretary of state; W. H. Leeds, republican, state printer; Phil Metschan, republican, re-elected state treasurer; G. M. Irwin, republican, superintendent of public instruction; C. M. Idleman, republican, attorney-general; C. E. Wolverton, republican, supreme judge; and the legislature was republican.

The following were elected circuit judges: Third district, H. H. Hewitt; fourth district, Hartwell Hurley and Thomas A. Stephens; sixth district, James A. Fee. The district attorneys were: First district, H. L. Benson; second district, George M. Brown; third district, James McCain; fourth district, W. T. Hume; fifth district, W. N. Barrett; sixth district, John L. Rand; seventh district, A. A. Jayne.

The legislature, meeting in January, 1895, organized by selecting Joseph Simon as president of the senate and Charles B. Moores as speaker of the house.

This legislature after fruitlessly balloting the entire session over the re-election of Senator Dolph, at the last moment of the last day, elected George W. McBride.

Judge Hartwell Hurley died during this year and Governor Lord appointed Henry E. McGinn as his successor.

In 1896 the republican state platform followed the national platform of 1892 and on the money question favored bimetallism and use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and provisions as will maintain parity of value of the two metals, and the equal debt paying and purchasing power of every dollar, silver, gold, or paper. Also favored the election of senators by popular vote and the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, etc.

The democratic state platform opposed the single gold standard and favored the unrestricted coinage of silver at sixteen to one,—all to be full legal tender. It also demanded the immediate coinage of all silver bullion in the treasury, and all silver bullion hereafter offered for coinage and demanded the repeal of all specific contract laws. Favored the construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its control by the general government; also a tariff for revenue and other matters.

At the election in June, 1896, Thomas H. Tongue, republican, was elected congressman for the first congressional district, over W. S. Vanderburg, people's party, and Jeff Myers, democrat; and W. R. Ellis, republican, was elected in the second district over Martin Quinn, people's party, and H. H. Northup, independent gold republican, A. S. Bennett, democrat, and F. McKercher, prohibitionist. The legislature was also republican. R. S. Bean was re-elected judge of the supreme court, and Alfred F. Sears, Jr., circuit judge of fourth district, S. A. Lowell of sixth district, and Robert Eakin of the eighth district.

The district attorneys were: First district, J. A. Jeffery; second district, W. E. Yates; third district,

Samuel L. Hayden; fourth district, Charles F. Lord; fifth district, T. J. Cleeton; sixth district, H. J. Bean; seventh district, A. A. Jayne; eighth district, H. F. Courtney, and ninth district, Charles W. Parrish.

At the fall presidential election McKinley and Hobart carried the state, and John F. Caples, T. T. Geer, E. L. Smith, and S. M. Yoran were chosen as presidential electors.

The legislature in January, 1897, became involved in a political wrangle and failed to even organize.

During this year, 1897, on the death of T. A. Stephens, circuit judge, Governor William P. Lord appointed M. C. George to fill the vacancy, and later on, Judge L. B. Stearns, having resigned on account of ill health, the governor appointed John B. Cleland to fill the unexpired term.

In 1898 the republican state platform declared unmistakably for the maintenance of the single gold standard and "unqualifiedly opposed the free coinage of silver and all other schemes looking to the debasement of the currency and the repudiation of debt." While it deplored imminence of the war with Spain, it recognized that the country was on the eve of a war undertaken for the vindication of the national honor and the performance of a work dictated by every instinct of humanity. It recognized that representative government is one of the principles of the federal constitution and oppose any change in law or constitution which would abrogate this time honored principle.

The question of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one was the practical issue, and the democrats and the people's party men (except the middle-of-the-roaders), along with free silver republicans, united on a state ticket, as follows: For governor, William R. King, people's party; congressman, first district,

R. M. Veatch, democrat; congressman, second district, C. M. Donaldson, silver republican; secretary of state, H. R. Kincaid, silver republican; state treasurer, J. O. Booth, democrat; superintendent of public instruction, H. S. Lyman, silver republican; attorney-general, J. L. Story, people's party; supreme judge, William M. Ramsay, democrat; state printer, Charles A. Fitch, people's party. This fusion ticket was opposed by the middle-of-the-roaders, as they were called—the out-and-out populists—and they put forward a state ticket headed by John C. Luce and adopted both the Omaha and Saint Louis platforms.

At this election Thomas H. Tongue, republican, was re-elected congressman from the first district over R. M. Veatch, fusing democrat; and M. A. Moody in the second district over C. M. Donaldson, fusing silver republican; T. T. Geer, republican, governor; F. I. Dunbar, republican, secretary of state; Charles S. Moore, republican, state treasurer; W. H. Leeds, republican, state printer; D. R. N. Blackburn, republican, attorney-general; J. H. Ackerman, republican, superintendent of public instruction; F. A. Moore, republican, re-elected supreme judge.

A session of the legislature called by the governor in the fall of this year organized by electing Joseph Simon President of the Senate and E. V. Carter Speaker of the House, and elected Joseph Simon United States Senator to fill the four years and five months of the term following the expiration of the term of John H. Mitchell.

The regular session in January, 1899, continued the officers of the special session, except that T. C. Taylor became president of the senate.

THE FIRST OREGON CAVALRY.

"Lest we forget, lest we forget."

From the period of its earliest settlement to 1849 Oregon had no military history, if we except the several months spent in the Cayuse country by a few hundred volunteers after the massacre of 1847. The punishment received by the Cayuses left them so reduced in numbers that, even had they wished to make war, they were unable without the support of the neighboring tribes, particularly of their relatives, the Nez Perces. But a vengeful spirit was cherished toward their conquerors, which they imparted to the Shoshones in the Snake-river country, which was laying the foundation of future wars.

When Governor Lane arrived in the newly established territory in the spring of 1849 he brought with him the remnant of his escort, consisting of a lieutenant, G. W. Hawkins, and five men, the main detachment having deserted en route. Early in May, however, the United States steamer Massachusetts, commanded by Captain Wood, arrived in the Columbia with two artillery companies, under Brev. Maj. J. S. Hathaway, who encamped with one company at Vancouver, leaving the other with Capt. B. H. Hill at Astoria, comfortably quartered in the building erected in 1846 by the crew of the wrecked United States vessel Shark. The whole force numbered but one hundred and sixty-one men and officers; but the Indians on Puget Sound being threatening, it was determined between Governor Lane and Major Hathaway to establish a post near Nisqually, and accordingly the artillerymen under Captain Hill were removed in July to the Sound, and a post erected at Steilacoom.

At the same time the long delayed Mounted Rifle Regiment, commanded by Brev. Col. W. W. Loring, was on its way from Fort Leavenworth to Oregon. It arrived, as much of it as was left by desertion, deaths, and detachments, in October. This regiment, when it left Fort Leavenworth, numbered six hundred men, thirty-one commissioned officers, some women and children, with guides, agents, helpers and teamsters a large number. There were one hundred and sixty-one wagons in the train, one thousand and two hundred mules, and seven hundred horses. For all these men and animals subsistence had to be carried.

At Laramie a post was established and provisioned. At or near Fort Hall a cantonment was erected and also partially provisioned. Owing to the failure to arrive on time of a supply train from the Willamette under Lieutenant Hawkins, Colonel Loring's command, which had pushed on to meet it, was reduced nearly to the point of starvation, Hawkins having taken the southern route and missed making the rendezvous. When the regiment reached The Dalles many of the men were barefoot and their horses too weak to carry them. In such sorry plight were the Oregon Riflemen who, in Mexico, had covered themselves with glory. At The Dalles they found no better means of transportation than mackinaw boats, canoes, and a yawl or two. Several men were drowned in attempting to run the Cascade rapids on a raft. Those who crossed the Cascade Mountains by the Mount Hood road with the wagons and the herds suffered severe hardships. Forest fires, steep hills, worn-out and perishing stock, all conspired to add to their miserable condition. The teamsters were not men bred to the service, but adventurers picked up at Leavenworth who were seeking opportunities to get to the California gold mines. The regiment also was largely recruited from

this class of men. The deaths and desertions on the march numbered seventy men—enough for a company. The other losses by the way were thirty horses and nearly three hundred mules. Forty-five wagons and one ambulance were among the abandoned property.

On arriving at their journey's end no quarters were found prepared for their reception at Vancouver, and as winter with its rains was setting in the soldiers were quartered as best they could be at Oregon City. Their presence in the metropolis of Oregon was anything but delightful to its inhabitants, who were soon made as unhappy by the advent of troops as they had been previously by the want of them. When spring opened there was a wholesale desertion of one hundred and twenty riflemen organized into a company, which, by rapid marching for two or three days, kept in advance of a proclamation by the governor warning the farmers, off whom the deserters expected to live, not to trust or harbor them. Their well concerted plan was to pass themselves off as a company sent out by the government to purchase beef cattle on government credit.

Lane and Loring overtook one division in the valley of the Umpqua, the governor returning to Oregon City with seventy men in charge. The forward division reached Klamath River before it was overtaken by Colonel Loring, and thirty-five men escaped by canoe across to the south side. With the remainder, which was in a miserable condition from insufficient food and hard traveling in snow, he returned after a two weeks' forced march, leaving the fugitives to their fate, which undoubtedly was death to some, if not all of them. Soon after this incident the artillerymen were removed from Vancouver to Astoria, and the riflemen put to work erecting quarters at the former place, by order of Gen. Persifer F. Smith, commanding the Pacific division. The quartermaster

who superintended the erection of Fort Vancouver was Capt. Rufus Ingalls, long and well known in Oregon.

The construction of barracks for the accommodation of the riflemen and also for troops expected in the autumn, was a task more difficult than might have been anticipated. Mechanical skill of any sort had never been a feature of pioneer life ; but whatever assistance the Oregonians might have given the army at other times, was reduced to nought by the absence of the working element in the mines of California. For the same reason (the great demand made by mining), lumber was scarce and high priced. Captain Ingalls had, therefore, to make the best use he could of the abandoned buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to pay the soldiers wages in addition to their regular pay to induce them to perform the labor of cutting down timber and rafting it to Vancouver. With the help of the Hudson's Bay Company, however, a sufficient number of buildings were erected or leased to shelter the troops in Oregon and on the road.

It was impossible at this time to secure a title to the site (the United States land law not having been passed), except by purchase or lease of the possessory rights of the British fur company. A lease was accordingly taken by the chief of the quartermaster's department, Maj. H. D. Vinton, of the site of Vancouver, which became and remains the military headquarters for the Columbia region. The same course was pursued at Steilacoom with regard to the site of a fort.

A post was established at The Dalles, where two companies of the rifle regiment were stationed in the spring of 1850, under command of Maj. S. S. Tucker. A post was in contemplation in Southern Oregon, but the temptation to desertion on the road to the gold mines was too great, and the design was abandoned for the time. Cantonment Loring, being found to be too far from a base of

supplies, and forage scarce, was evacuated. Thus, Oregon began its military history with a few companies of artillerymen and riflemen to maintain the peace from Astoria to the South Pass, and from the forty-second to the forty-ninth parallel. The government was not prepared, nor was the army department equipped for such extensive and expensive service. The outlay was enormous in proportion to the population guarded; and to troops drawn from forts east of the Rocky Mountains, the transfer was unwelcome.

The Oregon trail, which for several seasons following the Cayuse war had been practically deserted, after the passage of the rifle regiment began to be again traveled, and in 1852 the immigration to Oregon was large. Indian outrages increased, provoked not only by the invasion of every part of the country by explorers and settlers, but by the presence of soldiery,—the presumption being that fighters were here to fight, and the Indians desired to secure the advantage of a first blow.

Not only had the government provided fighting men, but peacemakers in the appointment, in 1850, of a superintendent of Indian affairs (Anson Dart, of Wisconsin), and three agents. It is not intended in this article to give a history of Indian treaties, but only to indicate the general course of events by referring to the effect of certain acts of government agents.

That part of the country most rapidly settling up was the rich and well watered valley region west of the Cascade Mountains and south of the Columbia River. No trouble was had with the Indians of the Willamette, they being but miserable fragments of tribes, more or less accustomed to white neighbors. But the Umpqua and Rogue River valleys and the coast region were unsubdued, and were inhabited by warlike tribes whose practice had been from time immemorial to rob and kill. White men,

whether travelers, settlers, or gold hunters, feared and hated them, and oftentimes the transient classes, animated by fear, killed the wild man on sight with as little compunction of conscience as they would have felt at killing any wild animal. The Indians, on their side, without taking into account that they had been the aggressors in the first instance, revenged themselves by massacres in the white settlements, and war became necessary. That has been the history of the subdual of the American continent from the Atlantic to Pacific, let apologists on either side say what they will.

It has been charged upon the Oregon people that they provoked Indian wars by wilfully wronging in various ways the innocent natives. That the charge is untrue is clear when it is remembered that, situated as they were for years, without protection, they dared not, had they desired, offer violence to the natives. It is true that the presence of the Hudson's Bay Company while it was in power restrained the Indians—and the white men as well. It was after the arrival of the United States government officers that wars became unavoidable, the necessity increasing from year to year in the manner just referred to.

The rifle regiment, having proven a disturbance to the people rather than a protection, was removed in 1851 to California, the Oregonians believing that if armed they could protect themselves at less expense to the government than that required to transport and supply regular troops. This probably was a wrong move, for it placed the settlers and the natives in opposition to each other as they had not been before. Hostilities opened by the Rogue River Indians gathering to attack a division of the riflemen under Major Kearney on its way to California, and exploring for a road that would avoid the Umpqua canyon. Kearney attacked them in a fortified position at Table Rock, and was compelled to fall back

while a detachment was hurried up, with a volunteer company from mining camps and settlements, when two engagements of several hours duration each were fought, the Indians losing heavily, and the riflemen having several men wounded beside losing one officer—Capt. James Stuart. This was the beginning of a long series of outrages and a protracted Indian war which was ended only by the final conquest of the southern tribes of western Oregon in 1856.

From 1851, when the territory was left with only two skeleton companies of artillerymen, and they on Puget Sound, for a period of fifteen years there was a succession of "wars," with a continually disturbed condition in some part of the country. The "wars" after 1855 were chiefly north of the Columbia, and thus in the territory of Washington; but the governors of the two divisions of old Oregon chose to make a common interest of Indian affairs, and did so. Military affairs, which formerly were managed by the commander of the department of the Pacific, were in 1858 transferred to the department of Oregon under command of General Harney, whose ideas of Indian affairs in any department were more in consonance with the popular view than those of any general yet assigned to the Columbia region. By his order the country closed to settlement or occupation east of the Cascade Mountains was opened, exploration for roads was carried on, and settlement encouraged. Immigration began again to flow along the Oregon trail. Murders and outrages increased. Incursions of Indians from Nevada preyed upon the growing cattle industry of Eastern Oregon, and miners were compelled to go armed at all times.

Such was the situation in Oregon and Washington when civil war threatened the republic, and the govern-

ment was calling in the army from the outlying posts. In 1861 less than seven hundred regulars, with nineteen commissioned officers, were left in Oregon and Washington to garrison eight forts and temporary posts, located at Colville, Walla Walla, The Dalles, Cascades, Vancouver, Yamhill, Steilacoom, and San Juan Island. Col. George Wright was placed in command of the district of Oregon and Washington, and instructed to do the best he could with this "corporal's guard." To the governors and people he apologized for the country's abandonment at so critical a time, when Indian difficulties surrounded them, and disunion plots were scarcely concealed in their midst.

Hitherto the prejudice of the regular army against volunteer organizations had operated to prevent the defense of mineral districts and the routes of immigration, although when news came of some fresh outrage, the settlements nearest to the scene usually hurried out a company, without waiting to get the news to Vancouver. Of all the commanders, except Harney, who had been at the head of military affairs in Oregon, Colonel Wright was the most popular. He foresaw that he was likely at any time to be ordered East, and that the country was liable to be the scene of internal discord as well as border warfare, and set about arranging for its protection.

In the summer of 1861 Wright made a requisition upon Governor Whiteaker for a cavalry company, to be enlisted for three years, unless sooner discharged, and to serve in the United States army, under its rules and regulations, the only exception being that the men should furnish their own horses, for the use or loss of which they would be compensated. Suspicion attaching to the governor of disunion sentiments, a doubt also extended to the enrolling officer, the attempt failed, and the enlisted men were discharged, on which Wright departed so far from

military etiquette as to summon together the loyal young men of the state and address them in camp at Oregon City, appealing to their patriotism to organize for services in the field, even to fight Indians, in order to release the regular troops for immediate duty in the East.

There was, indeed, no difficulty about raising one or more regiments of the best blood in the state for services in the East, to which their loyalty and their ambition prompted them; but not a man of them at this time wanted to fight Indians. He wanted to get at a 'foeman worthy of his steel.' They were in this mood when Wright was transferred to California to suppress rebellion in the southern part of that state, and Lieutenant Colonel Cady, of the Seventh United States Infantry, took command of the District of Oregon. Promotions were rapid during this period of military history. Before the end of the year Colonel Wright was made brigadier general and given the command of the Department of the Pacific.

As troops continued to be withdrawn from the several Oregon posts, General Wright replaced them with volunteer companies from California. Three hundred and fifty Californians were divided between Forts Yamhill and Steilacoom, and soon after five companies arrived which were stationed at The Dalles, Fort Walla Walla, and Fort Colville.

This was a rebuke the loyal youth of the state could understand; and when in November, 1861, the war department made Thomas R. Cornelius, of Hillsboro (veteran of the Cayuse and Yakima wars), a colonel, directing him to raise ten companies of cavalry for three years' service, there was no further hesitation. Although expecting to be sent into the field against the Indians to get a seasoning, it was believed that when they had learned the trade of war they would be sent East to fight the battles of their country should it come to that at last.

Said one of them to me years ago in reviewing this early history, "It was thought as soon as we should become disciplined, if the war should continue, we would be taken East should there be no war on this coast. For my own part I should have gone to the army of the Missouri but for this understanding."

The regimental officers of the First Oregon Cavalry after the colonel were R. F. Maury, lieutenant colonel; C. S. Drew, major; J. S. Rinearson, junior major, and Benjamin F. Harding, quartermaster and mustering officer. The pay for each man and horse was \$31 a month; \$100 bounty at the expiration of service, with a land warrant for one hundred and sixty acres. Camps were established in Clackamas, Marion, and Jackson counties. The first company, A, raised was in Jackson County, T. S. Harris, captain; the second company, B, in Marion County, E. J. Harding, captain; Company C was raised at Vancouver, William Kelly, captain; Company D in Jackson County, S. Truax, captain; Company E in Wasco County, George B. Currey, captain; Company F chiefly in Josephine County, William J. Matthews, captain. Adjutant, Richard S. Caldwell; surgeon, William H. Watkins; assistant surgeon, commissioned in April, 1862, was David S. Holton, and quartermaster, commissioned in February, 1862, was David W. Porter. The first lieutenants commissioned in 1861 were Jesse Robinson, Seth Hammer, John M. Drake, David P. Thompson; in January, 1862, William V. Rinehart and Frank B. White.

The second lieutenants commissioned in 1861 were John W. Hopkins, Charles Hobart, and John M. McCall; early in 1862 Peter Fox, William Kapus, James L. Steele, and D. C. Underwood. These names, still well remembered in Oregon, are those of the original First Oregon Cavalry officers. During the three years' service some

changes occurred, but the regiment remained practically the same for its full term.

The winter of 1861-'62 was one of extreme cold with heavy snows. Miners who attempted to stay through the season in their camps were driven out by the prospect of starvation, and frozen to death, or killed by Indians on the trail, when they became food for the famished savages. The spring floods brought down many bodies of, or fragments of bodies, of these unhappy adventurers, warning the volunteers of the nature of the foes they were to encounter.

Volunteering went on tardily through the winter, with headquarters at Vancouver. Eastern Oregon furnished but forty men, recruited at The Dalles by Captain Currey, and brought up to the standard by detachments from other companies. This was the first company in the field, a detachment being sent out early in March, by the commanding officer at The Dalles, to find and search a camp of Indians from the Simcoe Reservation suspected of murdering a party of miners on John Day River. No evidence being found in their camp, the detachment returned from a disagreeable march on the fifth day, having performed the first scouting duty of the regiment, between the eighth and twelfth of March inclusive.

Captain Currey was not only an indefatigable officer and good cavalryman, but a man possessed of a poetic and literary turn of mind which is seldom found in connection with the more active qualities. He was a sort of Oregon "Teddy Roosevelt" in temperament, but unhappily for him, deprived of the opportunity to shine. This deprivation, that came from his being in the Oregon cavalry, which he had joined in the hope and expectation of being sent to fight for loyalty to his country, as time dragged on through the weary three years in the Indian service became an actual grief to him. This is apparent

in his report. But some of his private letters written twenty years after the close of the war are touching expressions of his disappointment. That he performed his duty well, and not only he, but the whole regiment, with few exceptions, should not be forgotten by the passing, nor unknown to the rising generations.

There was this peculiar feature about the cavalry regiment that distinguishes it from other military organizations. Besides being the voluntary offering of the best homes of the state to the service of the country, the men who composed it pledged themselves at the beginning to temperance and pure living. If any violated their pledge it was never reported.

Among those whom I have personally known is Hon. James A. Waymire, son of that worthy pioneer, Fred Waymire, of Polk County, known as the "apostle of democracy" and "watch dog of the treasury" in territorial times. James was a smooth-faced, rosy-cheeked lad, having scarcely attained his majority when he entered the service as a private in Company B, in December, 1861. He was mustered in as second lieutenant April 13, 1863, and assigned to duty with Company D, in which capacity he served until the disbandment of the regiment in the autumn of 1864.

Lieutenant Waymire in his report to Adj. Gen. Cyrus A. Reed has this passage: "I will say here that from my personal knowledge I know that a great majority of the men who composed the First Oregon Cavalry were young men acting from a conviction of patriotic duty. They left pleasant homes and profitable occupations to take up arms, not only in defense of our frontiers against the Indians, but also to assist in preventing or countenancing any movement on the Pacific Coast in favor of the attempt to dissolve the Union; they also hoped that should the war prove a long one, and should there be no serious

difficulty here they would, after becoming drilled and disciplined, be ordered East to engage in active service there. That they have fought no great battles, nor won any important victories, is the misfortune and not the fault of the Oregon volunteers." It indeed required of such men, and under such circumstances as the adjutant general declared in his report, as much patriotism to absent themselves from civilized society, and encounter the hardships and privations of frontier savage warfare, as did any service they could be called upon to render.

It was midsummer of 1862 before all the six companies were uniformed, armed and mounted. The Dalles company was ordered about the last of March to Camp Barlow, near Oregon City, to be uniformed, and it was July before it was clothed for the service, although in May it was sent to Fort Walla Walla to do garrison duty. The summer was spent in patrolling the region about the fort, arresting Indians who violated their treaty obligations, and performing escort duty on the Oregon Trail, or to the mines. Detachments went to Cœur d'Alene Mission, Fort Colville, Umatilla Indian Reservation, and to the mouth of Palouse River to guard a depot of government freight intended for Fort Colville. In this way the eighty men in Company E were kept on duty and in motion.

In August Captain Currey was ordered to proceed to Grand Ronde and arrest three Indian chiefs who were driving settlers from their claims and tearing down their houses. When found and told that they were wanted by the commanding officer at Fort Walla Walla, they answered that they were on their own land, and if the officer desired to see them, he must come there. During the parley, other Indians gathered about, and Captain Currey, seeing that to fulfill his orders force would have to be used, entered the lodge of the principal chief with the

intention of binding them. On this two of the Indians made demonstrations with rifle and revolver, and their motions being less quick and certain than the white man's, both were shot. At the same time exchanges of shots were going on outside, two Indians being killed and another wounded. At this reverse, the band fled, and the troops were ordered to cease firing, while word was sent to them to return and bury their dead; Captain Currey explaining to them that he had not come with the intention of killing any of them, but that he must obey orders, and their armed resistance had brought on the fight. A report of the affair was sent to General Wright, who approved. This was one form of service. Another was scouting.

The aggregate distance traveled by Currey's company in 1862 was three thousand miles. Then came a winter in garrison at Walla Walla. "This," says the captain, "of all duty the volunteer soldiers are called upon to perform, is the most harrassing, tedious, and abominable."

On the return of spring, scouting and pursuing predatory raiders kept the troops in motion. A detachment of Company E, under Lieutenant Monroe of the First Washington Infantry Regiment, in a forced march to overtake thieves who had driven off sixty head of government mules traveled two hundred miles; but near the junction of the Okanogan Trail and the Columbia River, and while attempting to cross a high mountain range was compelled to turn back by a snow storm which covered the trail to a depth of two feet. Two citizen employees of the quartermaster's department, with great determination pushed on, coming up with the thieves, three in number, the next day at sunrise surprising and shooting two of them before being discovered. The third being but a lad, and an Indian, was taken into their employ, proving a valuable assistant, as the white men had

frozen their feet in crossing the mountain. But immediately upon Lieutenant Monroe's departure becoming known in Walla Walla town, news was sent to the mule thieves by their fellows. On learning this, the commanding officer at the fort sent out another detachment under Lieutenant Apperson to overtake Lieutenant Monroe and give him assistance. Finding, after traveling one hundred and twenty-five miles, that he was not going to be able to come up with him, and not having rations or forage for more than ten days, Apperson returned to Walla Walla, when Captain Currey was instructed to take twenty cavalymen and thirty days rations, and renew the pursuit. Snake River was crossed on the evening of the twelfth of March, 1863, the men in an Indian canoe, and the horses swimming—the river being three hundred yards wide, swift, and very cold. This expedition which in four days met the mule rescuers returning and turned back, "is only mentioned," says Currey in his report, "to present the fact that forty-eight head of horses belonging to Company E made forced marches and swam Snake River when its waters were winter cold, as preparatory training for a summer campaign." To complete the mule stealing incident, Currey was ordered to take six men and proceed to Lapwai on the Nez Perce Indian Reservation a hundred miles distant, with the Indian lad in charge to be tried for horse stealing, the punishment for which was hanging, if proved guilty. He was acquitted and the detachment marched back again.

Fort Walla Walla was at this period commanded by Col. Justin Steinberger, Colonel Cornelius having resigned. Steinberger was colonel of the First Washington Infantry, and belonged to Pierce County in that territory. He went to California and raised four companies to fill out his regiment, reporting at Vancouver early in May, 1862, relieving Colonel Cady of the command of

the district until July, when Brigadier General Alvord arrived to take command, and Steinberger repaired to Walla Walla to assume command of the post resigned by Cornelius.

On the fourth of May, 1863, a long contemplated expedition against the Snake Indians was set on foot by Colonel Steinberger, Lieutenant Colonel Maury of the cavalry being assigned to the command of the expedition, which was intended to punish the Snakes for atrocities committed in 1860, as well as to protect the immigration of the current year. At the same time there was need of troops on the Nez Perce Reservation, where trouble was threatened between two political parties among the Indians, a portion, under Lawyer, being favorable to Americans, and another division under Big Thunder, opposing the passage of miners across the reservation. That there was some justification for this opposition was probable, but it could not be allowed to bring on a war, especially with the Nez Percés, who had never yet been at war with the white race.

The population of Eastern Oregon was at this period increasing rapidly. The two principal causes operating to produce this increase were the civil war, from which many southern and southwestern men desired to escape, and the mining excitement which drew large numbers to the Northwest Pacific Coast from 1860 to 1865, and later.

To such an extent had the rush to the mines depopulated Western Oregon of its able-bodied men that a call made in January, 1863, for six companies to fill up the First Cavalry Regiment produced only one during the whole summer, and it was feared a draft would be resorted to. The state had not raised her share of troops for the United States service, and had but seven companies in the field, while California had not only nine

regiments, but Californians were serving in Oregon and Washington.

Troops were needed at various points on the frontier and posts at Boise and Klamath, the latter for the protection of the immigration by the southern route, on which some bloody massacres had occurred. Accordingly, in the spring of 1863, the government having consented, Major Drew, of the Oregon Cavalry, who had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, sent Captain Kelly with Company C to construct and gararrison a fort on the Klamath lands near the head of Upper Klamath Lake. These two expeditions left but two of the cavalry companies to be employed in keeping the peace between white men and Indians, pursuing horse thieves, white and red, and arresting whisky sellers and highwaymen. In this service, often requiring long marches, the cavalry horses were kept worn down.

The expedition into the Snake country proceeded from Fort Walla Walla to Lapwai to be present at a council of United States commissioners with the chiefs of the Nez Perces, trouble being apprehended; the object of the commission being to secure the relinquishment of a certain part of the reservation in order to open a safe highway to the mineral regions lying east of it. To make a treaty, with a handful of white men on one side and twenty-five hundred Indians on the other, a part of whom were openly hostile to the measure, was an undertaking straining to the nerves of the commissioners. But the policy of Lawyer prevailed,—together with the knowledge that ammunition was issued to the troops and the post put in condition for defense.

To make sure of the intentions of the Nez Perces, Colonel Maury ordered Captain Currey to take twenty men at midnight and proceed to the council ground, two

miles distant from the post, to make observations. Accompanied by Lieutenant Kapus, regimental adjutant of the Washington Territory Infantry, he entered a lodge where fifty-three chiefs and sub-chiefs were deliberating on the propositions of the commissioners. Says Currey in his report :

“The debate ran with dignified firmness and warmth until near morning, when the Big Thunder party made a formal announcement of their determination to take no further part in the treaty, and then with a warm, and in an emotional manner, declared the Nez Perce nation *dissolved*; whereupon the Big Thunder men shook hands with the Lawyer men, telling them with a kind but firm demeanor that they would be friends, but a distinct people. It did not appear from the tone of their short, sententious speeches, that either party was meditating present outbreak. I withdrew my detachment, having accomplished nothing but witnessing the extinguishment of the last council fires of the most powerful Indian nation on the sunset side of the Rocky Mountains.” The “treaty” was really no more than the agreement of Lawyer and his band, numbering less than a third of the Nez Perce people.

While the council of the commissioners and chiefs was in progress, word was brought that a band of renegades from the Yakimas, Palouse, and Nez Perces was encamped three miles from the council ground, with the purpose of stirring up discord and causing the rejection of the treaty. Captains Drake and Currey, with detachments of Companies D and E, were ordered to proceed by night, surround their camp, and at daylight put them across Clearwater River with the admonition to remain away or take the consequences. This being accomplished, complaint being made that two white men had erected a house on, and laid claim to a portion of the reservation

lands, Captain Currey took his company twelve miles down the river to the squatters' cabin, which his men demolished and threw into the river. In this impartial manner military government maintained something like order over a wild and lawless region.

On the thirteenth of June Maury's expedition left Lapwai for the Snake-river country. This part of Currey's report is very interesting from his descriptions of regions that had not been frequented by white men since the fur-hunting companies had roamed over them. The command passed up Lapwai Creek, and from Craig's Mountain traveled through broken ridges to Salmon River where a ferry enabled them to cross the train of a hundred and fifty pack mules without swimming. In crossing the high ridge between the Salmon and Snake rivers, however, several of these animals lost their footing, and were precipitated down the rock-ribbed mountain sides.

In this manner the command passed several days, resting one day at the head of Little Salmon; passing over another ridge to the head of Payette River, where it again rested, while a detachment under Currey proceeded southward to the headwaters of Weiser River to look for signs of Snake River Indians, finding only a deserted camp.

According to Currey, on the head of Payette River are located the most beautiful valleys of Idaho, the mountains that wall them in being covered with pine and tamarack trees, and the prairies verdant with nutritious grasses and clover, watered with trout streams. This region, he says, was in former times the debatable land between the Snakes and Nez Percés, where once a three days battle was fought for its possession and the Snakes driven off, until more settled habits had been adopted by the Nez Percés, when it relapsed to its ancient claimants. At the period of his visit he was convinced it had for

several years been the refuge of a band of Snakes which had plundered white travelers and settlers, successfully eluding pursuit or discovery.

The march from the Weiser to Boise River proved "a pleasant country to travel through." When the Oregon troops arrived at the latter river they found Major Lugenebeel of the regular army, from Fort Colville, on the ground, having arrived the day previous, July 1, 1863, with men, materials, and supplies for the establishment of a post, which was named Fort Boise, near which Boise City soon grew up.

Here Maury's command was encamped for several days awaiting supplies and preparing for the long march to Fort Hall, that was eagerly anticipated, but which proved in experience to be more wearisome by its monotony than the mountains by their roughness and dangers. The prairies and streams passed on the march are now well known and need not be mentioned.

No serious encounters with Indians occurred on the march to Fort Hall. Only one scout of any importance was made, which was from Little Camas Prairie, in search of a considerable band of Snake Indians rumored to be encamped fifty miles off, and near the trail. But the night march brought to light no Indian camps. A depot of supplies was established at Trail Creek, and while it was being made secure, Currey with twenty men was sent to look for Indians down the Malade, which, the report says, is called a river more from the habit of calling every running stream a river, than from the quantity of water in its channel. "For miles this industrious little stream has mortised its way through a lava bed by the process known as 'pot-holing.' The walls of the stream vary from five to twenty feet in height, resembling an unfinished mortise before the concave clefts of the auger have been cut away by the chisel. The concaves

left by the broken pot-holes vary in diameters from one inch to five feet."

On the fourth day of Currey's scout in this region he came upon a camp, recently abandoned, in which the camp fires were still burning, and pushing on overtook this band of a dozen tepees, located on the river bottom almost beneath the feet of the pursuing troop. Every chance of escape being cut off, the chief displayed all his people unarmed, with their hands held up. "Although," says the chronicler, "we had then trailed the party for four days, one day without rations, I could not consent to fire upon an unarmed and supplicating foe," and only laid them under contribution for a supply of salmon, though he carried off their chief to receive the judgment of his superior. Two hundred miles of hard traveling had resulted in the capture of one Indian.

The command proceeded to the Port Neuf, six miles from Fort Hall, remaining until the last of the immigration had passed, when it began its homeward march. At Salmon Falls Creek it remained long enough to gather in the Indians pretending friendship to inform them of the determination henceforth to let no outrages upon white people pass unpunished. It was expected that this message would be communicated by these friendlies to the hostile members of the tribe, as no doubt it was. The effect of this pacification, however, would be to warn the hostiles to keep out of the way, while the unarmed and old peace men displayed their submission to the soldiers by holding up empty hands.

While in camp at this place Currey was ordered to make another scout across the desert that lay between Snake River and the Goose Creek Range [Seven Peaks?] to the southwest. With twenty men and ten days' rations the expedition set out. A four days' march brought it, through sagebrush and lava ridges, to Salmon Falls

Creek [West Fork?], a stream which ran through a canyon from one thousand to two thousand feet in depth, with nearly perpendicular walls, and few places where a descent to it was possible for man or horse. The water famine was somewhat relieved by a rainstorm.

The point traveled for was a snow peak of the Goose Creek Mountains [Seven Peaks], two days' travel from Salmon Falls Creek [West Fork], where at the foot of the peak on the morning of the seventh day a smoke was discovered, and the supposed encampment surrounded. "We found," says the captain, "a *lordly* Indian, 'monarch of all he surveyed.' His kingdom consisted of two wives, seven children, eight horses, and some camp equipage." Out of commiseration for his wives and children, he was allowed to remain in peace and accumulate more horses.

On the thirtieth of September, from observations taken in passing along the northern base of Goose Creek Mountains [Seven Peaks], it was discovered that the "Seven Peaks" were only seven views of the same mountain as seen from the east side; and that the Bruneau River gathered its waters from the north side, while the Owyhee was fed by the snows of the south side. Within a few miles the tributaries of the Bruneau were gathered together, and entered "one of the most terrific chasms my wanderings have brought me to shudder on the brink of," says the report. "With this immense fissure on my right, sagebrush and trap rock beneath my feet, the hazy, death-like sky of Snake River over my head, and a cloud of alkali dust hurled by the sagebrush in my eyes, ears, and nostrils, I picked my way as best I could for myself and men. The principal object of solicitude in these desert marches, is water for your men and animals; and here, although a river of respectable magnitude was rippling cool and clear, whose margin walls broke surface within a rod to our right, yet to go down there after it required wings—

which, unfortunately for the service, the Oregon cavalry were not supplied with. At intervals gulches break the face of the margin wall, and down these, with much labor in rolling stones and smoothing, a way can be made down which the thirsty horses and men will force themselves when urged by the strongest of all possible inducements—desire for water on a sagebrush desert. While passing down the river we got one drink a day in the manner above described.

Down in one of these deep canyons we found three Indians, who claimed to be Conner's Indians, and as General Conner and the governor of Utah had sent the commanding officer of the expedition notice that they had treated with the Bannocks, as a matter of course we twenty would not molest three. Besides their discovery was rather fortunate for us, as the morning before finding them our last ration, one half inch square of flatcake, was devoured, and we relished some fresh elk, procured from the Indians, exceedingly."

In this painful and apparently useless manner the march continued down the Bruneau River; losing the trail at night, examining it by the light of "Dutch" matches, for horse tracks; finding one dead Indian which seemed to say that some part of the command had been in a skirmish in that region; scrambling down precipices two thousand feet in depth to slake intolerable thirst, and marching the last day without food, it came up with another detachment under Lieutenant Apperson with a detachment of Company A, who was encamped fifteen miles further down stream. From Apperson supplies were obtained, and Currey's command returned to the main camp, having traveled in eleven days about four hundred miles. On this march, "with the exception of two camps on Goose Creek Mountains [Seven Peaks], the remainder were made in fissures of the earth so deep that neither the

'Polar Star' or the 'Seven Pointers' could be seen.'" The return to Fort Walla Walla was by the dusty emigrant road, and over the Blue Mountains covered with snow, arriving October 26, 1863—the expedition having been on the march five months. With all their hardships the troops preferred such service to garrison life, than which, declared Currey, no better system could be devised to alienate men from their officers, chill the enthusiasm of troops, sap the foundation of patriotism, and destroy the efficiency of the army, leaving them exposed to temptations, to vice, and the enervating influence of aimless formality and self-abnegation.

Holding such views it was with pleasure that, after a brush with the renegade band on the Palouse in March, 1864, Currey received notice from Brigadier General Alvord that he would be sent into the Snake country again. Accordingly on the twenty-eighth of April, an expedition was organized, consisting of Companies E, A, and a part of F, Currey commanding; Lieut. John Bowen, Company F, adjutant; Lieut. Silas Pepoon, acting assistant quartermaster and A. C. S.; Sergt. Peter P. Gates, sergeant major; Capt. W. V. Rinehart, commanding Company A, and Lieut. James L. Currey, commanding Company E. The train consisted of one hundred and three pack mules and eight army wagons drawn by six mules each, with a traveling forge. The troops, says their commander, were "a noble set of Oregon men, well drilled and in an excellent state of discipline, eager for service and anxious to accomplish something."

In crossing the Umatilla Indian Reservation, camp was made at the foot of the Blue Mountains, to which the Cayuses were invited, with the object of securing volunteers among them to go against their old enemies, the Snakes. A war dance was held, the result of which was ten volunteers, under Chief Umahontilla. These war-

riors, glad of an opportunity to strike their hereditary foe, furnished their own horses, two to each man, and without pay or the promise of it, joined the white cavalry. But Currey's desire was for a considerable force of Indians, which might have been had for \$10 a month per man, their clothing and rations, and the use of the arms furnished them, with their ammunition.

"With well trained troops, and one hundred riders equal to the Cossacks in agility, and the Mamelukes in bravery and intrepidity, fired by their hereditary hatred of the Snakes, there can be no doubt but that the spring flowers of 1865 would have come and found peace upon our borders—so long the scene of plunder, massacre, and torture." * * * "This digression," continues the report, "has been indulged in, not to reflect upon the military leaders of the country, nor with the hope of instructing the political rulers of the land, but to give expression to an opinion pretty generally entertained by the subordinate officers doing military duty on our borders, where important and decisive action is constantly demanded at their hands without adequate force wherewith to accomplish it."

This abstract is here made to show the spirit in which the Oregon volunteers performed their duties, at no time agreeable or wholly satisfactory. That they desired to have something to show for their three years' services, we are frequently reminded by paragraphs like the following: "When I visited this valley (the Grande Ronde) in 1862, what is now a thriving village of over a hundred houses, consisted of a single house, without any roof, and another up to the top of the valley that the settlers have thrown up as a fort against the Indians. I do not remember any others except those in La Grande. Now the whole valley is dotted with farm houses. This great change,

I flattered myself, was materially aided by the night ride of 1862."

There is not space in a magazine article to continue the details which give interest to Currey's report. His objective point being the Owyhee, it is only necessary to say that after leaving the emigrant road, about the middle of May, the experiences of the previous summer were repeated—riding among rocks and sagebrush through the long, hot days to come at last to a stream several hundred feet below the surface of the surrounding country. Some of the descriptive passages are very interesting; indeed, I know of no traveler in the Northwest, unless it is Theodore Winthrop, whose word pictures of natural objects are equal to those of our acting colonel of the First Oregon Cavalry. Here is something from the Owyhee country:

"The region immediately opposite the mouth of Jordan Creek has a weird, antiquated look; it is one of the unusual landscapes wherein the wind has been the most powerful and active agent employed by Dame Nature to complete her exterior. The formation is of greyish red sandstone, soft, and under the capricious workings of the wind for centuries, has assumed shapes strange and fantastic. Here stands a group of towers; there is an archway curiously shaped; yonder is a tunnel running the face of a sandstone ledge hundreds of feet from the bottom. The whole catalogue of descriptive antique might be exhausted in giving fanciful names to the created results of this aerial architecture. The spectacle of seeing my command wind its way through this temple of the wind was pleasing, and one that will long be remembered by the most who beheld it."

Camp Henderson was established on Gibb's Creek, about eight miles from the mouth of Jordan Creek, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1864,—distant from Walla Walla three hundred and thirty miles,—and the tents

having been left at Fort Boise to lighten transportation, the troopers made themselves wickeups out of willow wands, grass, canes, or sagebrush, which served as shelter from the burning desert sun.

On the twenty-eighth of May, Currey, with Companies A and E, mounted for a ride to a snow peak in the southwest. "After thumping along all day through sagebrush and loose trap rock without water, a short time before sundown, the sergeant of Company E, who had been sent to the top of a neighboring height to examine the country around for appearances of water, returned to the command and reported a large lake about two miles further on. This encouraged us, and tumbling more than marching we reached the bottom of a canyon that led into our prospective lake, and just as the sun was passing behind the dark ridge of basalt to our west. But what was our surprise and disappointment upon nearing it to find that it did not contain a drop of water. It was nothing but an extensive tract of perfectly smooth, yellow clay—smooth as the drying yard of the brick-maker. It was the mirage caused by this flat, hard surface that deceived us. At a hundred yards from it Old Neptune himself would have wagered his trident that it was a beautiful sheet of water, but he would have lost. While riding towards it I heard men, when within less than fifty yards of it, offering to wager six months' pay that it was a lake we were approaching, so complete was the deception. Passing over this deceptive ground, in about two miles, at the foot of a high ridge, we luckily found some beautiful springs and a nook of excellent grass. Part of the Indians accompanied me on this scout, and so much did one of them suffer for water that when we reached the springs he had completely lost his hearing in one of his ears, and could hardly see his horse."

The morning following Alvord Valley was discovered and a place selected for a summer camp, the indications being that this valley was the headquarters of a considerable body of Indians. On the return to Camp Henderson the troop amused itself for an hour with the mirage on the dry lake, which performed an amusing pantomime, figures of men and horses moving over its surface, some high in the air, while others were sliding to right or left like weavers' shuttles. Some horses appeared stretched out to an enormous length, while others spindled up, the moving tableau "representing everything contortions and capricious reflections could do."

Returning by a different but not easier route to Gibbs' Creek, the command remained in camp until June 2, when a scouting party which was out for three days found and killed five unarmed Snake Indians. While awaiting the arrival of the quartermaster's train at Camp Henderson, Captain Rinehart was sent on a scout up the Owyhee River, and during his absence a settler on Jordan Creek arrived in haste to report Indians in his neighborhood. On this information the main force started in pursuit, finding only satisfactory proofs that the Indians seen were Currey's Cayuse scouts, and they had taken a forced night ride in pursuit of themselves!

On the sixteenth of June, the supply train having arrived, the whole command set out by a new route for Alvord Valley. It consisted at this time of one hundred and thirty-three officers and men, having been joined at the mouth of the Owyhee by twenty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates of the First Washington Infantry, officered by Capt. E. Barry, Lieutenant Hardenburg, and Assistant Surgeon Cochran, U. S. A. Twelve miles from camp a rest of two days was taken, the horses being much jaded, this being the first rest of the whole command since the twenty-eighth of April. The re-

mainder of the march—thirty-four miles—to Camp Alvord was completed on the nineteenth, when all arrived, “the infantry very much fatigued.”

Satisfied that a large body of Indians had been recently encamped in Alvord Valley, a place was chosen by Currey at the foot of Stein’s Mountain for a depot of supplies, and a star-shaped fort erected of earthworks. Through it ran a stream of snow water from the mountains, and altogether, this spot was deemed a paradise in comparison with the camps left behind. Leaving Camp Alvord on the twenty-second with the greater portion of the cavalry, Currey started for Harney Lake, where he was ordered by the department commander to form a junction with Capt. John M. Drake, in command of an expedition starting from The Dalles.

Marching north by an old Indian trail, with grass and water abundant and excellent, Malheur Lake was reached on the evening of the twenty-fourth. Here, instead of dry alkali lakes Malheur was found to be a wet one, and not in the least amusing, as the approaches were crossed by alkali marshes, and the shallow water was unfit to drink. Harney Lake was found to lie to the west of, and to be connected with Malheur Lake. In order to reach it a stream from the south had to be crossed, requiring a half days travel to find a ford, a passage being affected by cutting and piling in willow brush, which was made compact by sods of grass. At the moment the front rank of cavalry reached the bank a loud clap of thunder burst overhead, from which incident the stream was named Thunder River, while one of its headwaters took the euphonious name of Blitzen River.

Not finding Captain Drake at Harney Lake, Currey proceeded to look for Indians, and was on a tributary of Silvies River when at midnight of the thirtieth a cour-

ier from Drake overtook him with the information that he was at Rattlesnake Camp on a small stream coming from the mountain rim encircling the Valley of Harney and Malheur Lakes. The two commands now acted in concert. The first attack was on the thirteenth of July, when the Cayuse scouts were pursued almost into camp by the Snakes, and on that afternoon the trail of the Indians was discovered. In following it the next day through the canyon of the south fork of John Day River, the troops were fired on from the overhanging rocks. Captain Drake with Company D scrambled up the sides of the canyon. Captain Rinehart was posted in the rear, and the remainder of the command took positions in the bottom of the canyon and fired a volley or two to draw the attention of the Indians away from Drake's movements. In about an hour Drake got his men on a level with the Indians, when after receiving one volley they fled. The pursuit, continued until the following afternoon, was fruitless. The Indians were not overtaken, but the valley was relieved of their presence. Neither the Indians nor the cavalymen had sustained much harm. Hoping to discover other bands, which if not found would renew depredations upon settlers and miners in the John Day region and on the Canyon City Road, the remainder of July was spent in patrolling this highway and scouting to the south of it, but without results.

While encamped one night near the Eugene City road an express arrived from Fort Boise bringing news of a raid in Jordan Valley. The command was then three hundred and fifty miles from Jordan Creek, and had not rested a day since leaving Camp Alvord. And yet the Oregon and California newspapers commented severely upon the failure of the cavalry to prevent or to punish Indian raids. "The California press is more excusable," says Currey, "than the Oregon; but the unjust criticism

that we received from the Oregon press did more to make my command lag than a thousand miles of hard marching over the most inhospitable desert that can be found in North America."

And here the historian may make a digression to explain that both the Oregon press and the Oregon cavalry were at that time unaware of the fact that it was not the Snake Indians whose raids gave so much trouble, but incursions of Nevada and Utah tribes, with some Shoshones from the upper Snake River, who were responsible for the robberies, murders, and other atrocities committed for years in Eastern Oregon and Western Idaho, a record of which would fill a large volume. It was only after the close of the civil war, when the regular army was released from service against rebellion, that troops could be sent to the relief of the frontier settlements, and by that time border warfare had assumed such proportions that many regiments, much money, and much time were required to subdue the savage foe. The southern invaders knew every movement of the volunteer companies, which they could observe from their hiding places in the rocks, from which they did not emerge when danger seemed to threaten. They knew where to find water and grass, and could sleep in peace while the cavalry wore out men and horses in night rides to hunt trails which they were too cunning to leave. Camp Alvord, at the foot of Stein's Mountain, was almost at the entrance to a rocky defile, up which they fled to a place of safety when alarmed by the approach of an enemy. In a country so immense and so rough as the deserts of Southeastern Oregon and Southwestern Idaho looking for Indians, was like searching for the legendary "needle in the haystack."

I have not room to go much further into detail. The object in view has been to show the spirit of the services rendered, and why it accomplished little more than to

train a regiment of young Oregonians for military duty.

It was the twelfth of August before Currey's command reached Camp Alvord, by which time two thirds of his men were suffering from disorders peculiar to armies kept continually on the march in hot climates without proper diet. It was about this time, and from seeing in what direction a party of marauders fled after a slight skirmish, that Currey became convinced of the character of the enemy, and that he held a defensive position among the crags of Stein's Mountain.

Acting upon this conclusion an expedition was undertaken and prosecuted as far as the Pueblo mining district, in the northern border of Nevada. A small party of Piutes was captured, but such was the fear of savage vengeance that Currey was entreated by the miners to spare the Indians, who deserved hanging for past crimes. The return made for this undeserved clemency was the murder a few months later of these same miners.

On returning to Alvord Valley, which was now seen to be the base of all the thieving operations in Eastern Oregon, Currey suggested to the district commander, General Alvord, the utility to the service of maintaining Camp Alvord through the winter, but the suggestion not being approved by the department commander, General McDowell, the camp was abandoned September 26. The following spring and summer many lives and much property were destroyed on the roads leading from the Sacramento Valley to the Idaho mines.

The wagon train was sent to Fort Boise, and the cavalry returned north. On the sixteenth of October, Currey was met by an express from district headquarters, stating that southern sympathizers in Oregon threatened an outbreak on the day of the presidential election, and directing him to be at Fort Dalles on that day with Company E. On the twenty-sixth the command was in camp

near Fort Walla Walla, and dissolved the same evening, Company A going into garrison, Company F to Lapwai, Company E beginning its march to The Dalles on the twenty-eighth of October, and arriving November sixth, when it went into garrison. Currey was ordered to Vancouver and assigned to recruiting service. This ended his connection with the First Oregon Cavalry, being appointed in the spring of 1865 to the command of the First Oregon Infantry Regiment.

It is not pretended that this article is a history of the First Oregon Cavalry—"only a photograph," in the slang language. From the reports of the various officers an interesting volume might be written. One of the earliest encounters with the enemy in the field, in 1863, was by the youthful second lieutenant, James A. Waymire, assigned to duty with Company D. Waymire was with Colonel Maury on his march to Fort Hall and back. While Maury was encamped near the mouth of the Bruneau River the lieutenant was sent with twenty men to punish any Indians he might find in that region. Moving up the stream and scouting, on the first of October the scouts reported a large body of Indians encamped in a canyon a mile ahead. Fearing that they would escape if alarmed, Waymire pushed forward with eleven men, finding the Indians in a rocky defile three hundred feet deep, through which ran the river and seemingly inaccessible. A volley brought about thirty armed men out of the wickeups, who posted themselves behind rocks, and, when Waymire dismounted his men on the brink of the canyon, opened a brisk fire on them. This was returned with effect, and the Indians attempted to escape. This so excited the cavalymen that they scrambled down the rocks, waded the stream, and followed in hot pursuit for some distance. Five Indians were killed, several

American horses captured that had recently been stolen from immigrants, and a large supply of ammunition and provisions, obtained in the same way, destroyed.

The following spring Lieutenant Waymire left Fort Dalles under orders to proceed with twenty-five men, and supplies for ninety days, to the south fork of John Day River and encamp at some point best calculated to protect the settlers against incursions from the Indians. He was instructed to treat the friendly Indians from Warm Springs Reservation with kindness; and if opportunity occurred to investigate the charge that they committed any of the frequent depredations along the Canyon City road.

Waymire's command marched a hundred and fifty miles from The Dalles in severe weather, reaching the south fork, March 15, 1864, where it established Camp Lincoln. On the nineteenth with a detachment of fifteen men the lieutenant proceeded to Canyon City where he learned that a few days previous Indians had made a raid on the ranch of a citizen, driving off about one hundred mules and horses, and that the owner of the ranch with a party of volunteers had gone in pursuit. Leaving word that he held himself in readiness to pursue the thieves on receiving information that there was any likelihood of overtaking them, he awaited such information. Word came to him on the twenty-second that twenty citizens were on the trail of the Indians, at Harney Lake, where they waited for supplies, and that thirty more men, with plenty of provisions and transportation would start immediately to re-inforce them.

Waymire sent word that he would co-operate with them, and asked that guides be sent to bring him to their camp. With eighteen men and twenty days rations he set out on the twenty-fourth, encountering severe weather with snow, sleet, and ice, delaying the march an entire

day. On the thirtieth he reached the volunteer camp ninety miles from his own, finding a company of citizens fifty-four strong, commanded by C. H. Miller ("Joaquin" Miller), and two lieutenants, elected by the company, which Miller represented to be thoroughly organized.

On the thirty-first Miller took twenty men of his company toward the upper end of the valley, intending to cross the Silvies River to scout on the other side. Being unable to find a ford the re-united commands marched south along the eastern side of the valley, where the Indian trail led, to the southeastern border. Here severe weather again detained the commands in camp until the fourth of April, when scouts reported a large valley fifteen miles ahead. (The same discovered by Currey's command later in the year.) On the fifth the expedition crossed the ridge between the two valleys, finding in the southern one evidences of a recent encampment of about one hundred Indians. "They seem," reported Waymire, "to subsist to a great extent upon horse and mule flesh, as a great number of bones which were lying about the campfires, and from which the meat had been taken, plainly indicated."

Continuing the march, on the sixth the scouts reported signal fires to the south. The cavalry were deployed as skirmishers, but found no enemy, although an Indian village, recently deserted, with fires still burning, and which had contained about one hundred inhabitants, was found. These had left about their deserted fires half-cooked horse flesh, baskets, ropes, furs, and trinkets, showing the haste with which they had abandoned their encampment; and the tracks all led towards the mountains, up a gorge of which two stragglers were observed to be fleeing. They were overtaken by two citizens, their horses captured, and one of the thieves wounded. Before the command could come up the Indians had disappeared.

It was now certain that the marauding bands which gave so much trouble to settlers, miners, teamsters, emigrants, and other travelers, enjoyed a safe retreat in the mountains of Southeastern Oregon. Hoping to find their winter quarters, at 3 o'clock on the following morning Waymire with fifteen cavalymen, and Miller with thirty-two citizens, set out to discover this resort. A large smoke being observed about three miles distant, Waymire dispatched Sergeant Casteel with privates Cyrus R. Ingraham, John Himbert, Company D, and George N. Jaquith, a citizen acting under his command, to reconnoiter the position and return as soon as possible to the command. At 7 o'clock in the morning, the citizen company being in advance, mistook a flock of geese on the plain two miles below for a band of horses, and made a charge which exhausted their riding animals, making them unfit for efficient service during the day. (This was the effect of the mirage referred to in the report of Colonel Currey as magnifying and distorting objects reflected in its atmosphere).

On the divide between the valley of Dry Lake and Alvord Valley Lieutenant Waymire requested Captain Miller to send a scouting party forward, as he was apprehensive of falling into an ambushade. Miller took five men and moving half a mile to the front, on seeing an Indian on the hills to his right, sent three of them in pursuit, and moved on with the other two. Impatient at this, Waymire resumed his march, but hearing the report of a rifle in the direction Miller had taken, directed his course accordingly. Proceeding but a short distance, he discovered a body of Indians filing down a gulch on the side of the mountain west of the narrow plain he was traversing, and at once took position with his cavalry, reduced by the absence of Casteel's scouting party to eleven men, upon a ridge near the defile.

Reinforcements of Indians, mounted and afoot, drew together from various directions, concealing themselves among rocks and sagebrush, the horsemen deploying in front to draw attention from the footmen, and the whole showing considerable skill in the art of war. Their objective point was a tongue of rock, covered thickly with tall sage, and projecting into the pass or plain. Just beyond it was a canyon, easily defended, but dangerous to enter, and this was where they had hoped to ambuscade the troops, but being a little late found themselves in a position where it became necessary to fight, if fight they must, in the open.

Waymire's chance of success in battle was to demoralize the enemy by a dashing charge, or to gain the defile by a flank movement. He chose the former plan, and desired the citizen company to make a vigorous attack on the enemy's left, while the cavalry would charge him in front, to be supported as soon as possible by the citizens. Miller's men being scattered in squads of two to five over several miles of plain, Waymire dismounted his men, deploying them as skirmishers to cover the horses while waiting for these squads to come up. Taking advantage of the delay, the Indians opened fire with rifles, most of their bullets falling short. Seeing that they were becoming bolder, and expecting to be attacked, Waymire advanced to within easy range and delivered a few well directed volleys, emptying several saddles and unmasking the footmen, who kept up a ceaseless firing with no effect, their balls flying overhead. The fighting was varied by the Indian horsemen making a dash intended to cut off the cavalry horses, a movement which was met by a change of position and continued firing, until both sides fell into their original situations.

After half or three quarters of an hour spent in this manner, seeing that a party of citizens twenty-five strong

were gathered on the plain, Waymire sent Lieutenant Bernon to solicit their aid, who returned in haste with the information that the citizens refused to join him. On receiving this news, the Indian force all the time increasing, Waymire withdrew to the plain, mounting his men and forming a line diagonal to the canyon, when the volunteers rallied and fought for a short time. The small force of cavalry was now on the defensive, and it retreated firing, the Indians endeavoring to surround it on the plain, whose broken surface, familiar to them, gave them great advantage. Three quarters of a mile to the east was a large hill, which, could it be gained, offered comparative safety, and of this the Indian horsemen were endeavoring to secure possession. On each side of the summit was a bench, one of which was occupied by six citizen volunteers, including their surgeon and a wounded man.

Waymire sent Corporal Meyer with five men to occupy the summit of this hill, and a brisk race followed, in which the corporal won, having the shorter arm of a triangle, and the command was soon in this defensible position and able to repulse a much larger force. After resting for an hour, and considering the chances of escape, with several of the men on foot, their horses failing from fatigue or wounds, retreat to camp twenty miles distant was determined upon. The route lay across Dry Lake, and was effected in good order, although the Indians followed, at one time passing with a body of horsemen in an attempt to get to the front. A desultory firing was kept up, "in which several of the volunteers rendered very efficient service with their rifles."

On reaching camp which with the entire pack train was left in charge of twenty men, it was found to be secure, to the satisfaction and surprise of the troops. "That it was so," remarks Waymire, "I can only attrib-

ute to the want of a sagacious leader among the Indians."

The day, from three o'clock in the morning to late at night when the last footmen were in, had been spent in this first engagement of the cavalry with fierce and predatory Indians of the southern border, who for several years after occupied the regular army under its most noted Indian fighters with their subjugation.

Waymire's report of this days operations was, "the discovery of the nature and strength of the enemy and the whereabouts of his home, which information I trust will be of material benefit hereafter, in connection with operations to be carried on in that region. Our loss was very light. One of the citizens was wounded in the breast, but not seriously. Some of the horses were wounded, one of the cavalry horses severely. Several of the horses belonging to the citizen volunteers gave out and were left behind. As the enemy held his ground it was impossible to ascertain his loss. Many of the Indian warriors, and several of their horses, were seen to fall either killed or seriously wounded. Nothing has been seen of Sergeant Casteel's party since their departure."

The morning following, Waymire, with a party of fourteen men on foot went in search of Casteel, following the trail made by them to the supposed fire, which proved to be steam from some hot springs, and back to the pass between the two valleys, where it ended. Nothing could be found of them or their remains. Another day was spent in camp hoping for their appearance, but imagination only pictured the fate of this little detachment.

Being upon half rations, and expecting pursuit, the command broke camp on the night of the ninth with the bells on the leading pack mules silenced, and the march to Harney Valley was begun in darkness. Meeting no opposition, by forced marches the volunteer and cavalry companies reached Canyon City on the fifteenth, where

they were thanked by the citizens, who if they had not recovered their property, realized the peril and privation suffered in the attempt to restore it. Waymire says of his command: "They were at all times self-possessed, and as prompt in the execution of commands as when on ordinary drill;" and adds: "as a matter of justice to myself and command, I feel it my duty, though a painful one, to state that our defeat on the seventh was due in great part to the want of a proper organization under an efficient commander on the part of the citizen volunteers. Although it is hardly possible that the stolen animals could have been recovered with our jaded horses, yet I feel confident that from the position I first occupied, with thirty cavalry instead of eleven, the Indians could have been routed and severely punished."

In this opinion Adjutant General Reed, in his report to Governor Gibbs, appears to concur. He says of Waymire's services: "His encounter with the Snake Indians near Harney Lake, is undoubtedly the hardest fought battle in which our troops participated, and evinces a courage and coolness on the part of the lieutenant and his brave followers worthy of note; and should any future occasion call him into the battlefield, I have no doubt, judging from the past, that he would rank high as a military leader. The report of Capt. H. E. Small of Company G, First Oregon Volunteer Cavalry, is also worthy of a permanent record, and we have sufficient evidence from every quarter to demonstrate to us that had Oregon volunteers been permitted to cope with an enemy worthy of their steel, they would have ranked with the bravest of our country's brave."

It was not my intention, nor is there space to pursue this subject beyond the limits of the first three years of service. But year after year Indian troubles increased, as the savages grew strong on horse meat, rich on

thievery, intelligent by imitation, and powerful by accretion of allies from beyond the border. This increase of strength, notwithstanding Indian superintendents and posts on Indian reservations, was a continual occasion of remark, the favorite explanation being the bad treatment of Indians by volunteers—state troops and emergency organizations—accounted for it. But the facts will show that until the regular army listened to advice from those who had acquired their knowledge by experience, they made no headway in securing peace. Then the long marches and hardships, with occasional fighting of the First Oregon Cavalry, were found to have revealed the things important to be known before Indian wars could be brought to an end.

A history of the wars of Eastern Oregon from 1862 to 1868 would embrace that of the First Oregon Infantry, the permanent establishment of Forts Lapwai, Klamath, Boise, and Lyons; the reports of many exploring expeditions, among which one by Maj. C. S. Drew is of particular interest, together with many incidents worthy of remembrance.* It would also embrace a list of casualties and losses of appalling length, the memory of which is rapidly fading, as has faded the story of the whole continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

FRANCES FULLER VICTOR.

*I avail myself of this opportunity to suggest to the readers of the Quarterly, that already it is almost, if not quite impossible, to find the printed reports of officers connected with these expeditions, and other historical matter of date forty or forty-five years past. The state library does not contain them, the city and private libraries have been searched in vain, and the conclusion follows that the people have not, and the state officers have not, properly comprehended the value of such "documents," which should, if any still exist, be preserved by hiding and placing where they can be found by students of history.

Among the most valuable of documentary matter is the report of Adj. Gen. Cyrus A. Reed, 1865-6, which is not preserved in the state library, nor can I learn that any effort has been made to secure it since my earnest inquiry for it some time ago. The only copy I can hear of is one in General Reed's hands, which he generously loaned me for reference in this article. Yet this volume contains information about every man who served in the volunteer regiments from 1862 to 1866, a period of great interest to the people of Oregon.

FRANCES FULLER VICTOR.

RECOLLECTIONS OF HORACE HOLDEN.

The following reminiscences of Horace Holden, of Salem, Oregon, in regard to his adventures in the Pacific Ocean, among the cannibals of Polynesia, are of great interest and also possess great value.

For one thing they are told by a man now in his ninety-first year, and relate to a period about seventy years past. Again they illustrate how Oregon became the beneficiary of almost all the early enterprises in the Pacific Ocean, either one way or another, and gained her citizens from the most adventurous and enterprising of all classes of men, both by land and sea. Still further, they are an account hardly equalled in history of wild adventure, furnishing a good model, in fact, for the romancer upon which to base thrilling narrative. It is indeed doubtful whether Verne, or Stevenson, or Haggard would dare to invent such a chain of incident, reaching so often the boundaries of improbability, and passing so often the usual limits of human endurance. In this view it is seen that writers of fiction do probably owe the most of their creations to men who have performed in fact the deeds that they arrange in striking form. Ethnologically, also, such accounts furnish pictures, and record the habits and feelings of islanders as yet almost wholly unaffected by the white man's civilization; and draw a comparison between the mental or moral qualities of the civilized and uncivilized man.

As to verifying these stories, there is, of course, no means at hand; yet Mr. Holden gives them as simply a detail of sober fact, every incident of which actually

occurred ; and much more that is not introduced. All who know Mr. Holden—and he has been well known in Oregon for many years—will testify to the simple, plain honesty, and the unusual intelligence of the man. Among his friends and acquaintance there is no question of the conscientious accuracy of his statements. Also, many years ago, upon his arrival in America from his thrall-dom in the *Ladrones*, he published an account of his adventures, which appeared in book form, and which was everywhere accepted as unadorned fact. It was, however, comparatively brief, and written, moreover, in the somewhat precise style of the time, omitting much of the most startling occurrences. Besides this, if the skeptical were so minded, they would find the body of Mr. Holden tattooed in South Sea Island art—an operation no white man would voluntarily submit to, and which those islanders would not perform except for some extraordinary reason, upon a white man. This fact in itself gives a presumption of adventures as extraordinary even as Mr. Holden narrates.

ADVENTURES OF HORACE HOLDEN—ON THE WHALER.

Mr. Holden was a New Hampshire boy, though of English stock ; having been born at Hillsboro, in the Granite State, a little over ninety years ago. While still a boy he went to Boston, where he lived until he was eighteen years old. He was a rather delicate youth, and formed the idea that a sea voyage would be beneficial to his health. Going to New Bedford, the main port of the whaling fleet, then the pride and wealth of New England, he shipped on the old vessel *Mentor*, Captain Barnard. This was a ship that had seen service in the Pacific already, having made two cruises as far as Nootka Sound, on Vancouver's Island.

The first course of the ship was to the Antarctic in search of whale. The hunt in these waters proved disappointing, and it became necessary to seek port, in order to recruit ship. They had drifted toward the Azores, and here making harbor, took on supplies of water and other necessary provisions, and deposited what little oil had been secured to be shipped to market, and started off on a new cruise. Mr. Holden recalls with great interest the Portuguese people that he saw here, and the natural scenery, over which Mount Pico-pico loomed up. It was a long drift now, bringing the *Mentor* at length into the Indian Ocean, and through the Mozambique Channel; and at length into Banda Sea and the shores of Timor, a big island, where they stopped to recruit ship in the harbor Kupang.

Sailing proved quite difficult in these latitudes, the wind being uncertain and often fitful, and the currents among the various straits and islands often opposing. In making the Straits of Malone [Ombay Pass?], they were often set back, and finally gave up the attempt; but just at this moment were struck with favoring breezes and borne through into the Banda Sea, crossing which, were forwarded on the main ocean, and then took their course toward the Ladrões. This is a chain of tropical islands, being like Hawaiian group, of volcanic origin; or more exactly, being a submerged mountain chain, with the mere points and crests of the elevation piercing the surface of the almost universal sea, and thus offering specks or juts of land, around which the corals of the Pacific have been gradually built. The coral makers usually build some distance off shore, according to the depth of the water, and form reefs; and between the reefs and the island itself is a stretch, wider or narrower, according to circumstances, of enclosed water, forming a lagoon. There are passages, often rocky and dangerous, from

the main sea into the lagoons ; but except for these the islands are surrounded with the reefs, and upon these a ship fortuitously reaching an island would be all but sure to be cast. The reefs reach but a few feet above the level of the sea, and over them, in storms, the ocean water is often dashed.

It is necessary to bear in mind these island formations, with their reefs and lagoons, in order to understand the incidents related by Mr. Holden.

SHIPWRECK ON A TROPICAL ISLAND.

The *Mentor*, having reached the open ocean, was headed first toward the Island Tusnat, with the intention of here recruiting and sailing thence to the Northern Pacific Ocean for whale, but being moved from her course by the wind was directed toward the Ladrones. The weather had been calm,—too much so for the speed of the ship,—but about noon of a certain day, soon after heading towards the Ladrones, there came a change. The wind began to blow, and it soon became evident that an East Indian typhoon was approaching. Captain Barnard, a careful seaman, at once ordered the sails shortened, but the speed of the vessel seemed little diminished, as the wind was constantly increasing in violence, and the rain also poured in torrents. At length sails were all lowered, and as the topmasts now offered sufficient surface to catch the hurricane they were also, though not without difficulty, let down, and along with the yards lashed to the vessel's sides. A simple stay-sail was set in order to steady the ship and afford the use of the helm, if this were possible.

Night came on, with the storm still increasing, and thus the typhoon continued three days and three nights, neither sun, moon, or stars being visible, and no obser-

vations being possible, and the ship at the mercy of the wind.

Just at twelve o'clock of the third night, as the deck watch was turning in and the lower watch coming up to take their place, the vessel struck. The waves were rolling high and were coming with the speed of the storm, so that one barely receded before another struck, and the ship was evidently on the reef of an island. The night was intensely dark, and though the wind itself was moderating, the situation was sufficiently perilous.

Mr. Holden dwells with great detail upon the circumstances of the wreck which followed, having thought them over so many times and arranged them in succession. At the third wave the ship, which had been lifted up and dropped down on the reef, was so far driven ashore as to stick fast at the bow, and was then almost instantly swung around broadside to the sea and moved on her beam ends onto the shore, and then every comber lifted her up, and she was let down with a smash. Holden's berth was aft, and as soon as the trouble began he turned out, and got as quickly as possible into his breeches, and rushed on deck. He found all excitement, and the ship so far canted over as to make movement difficult. At the quarter deck, however, the first mate and ten men were lowering a boat, under the fear that the ship would soon break up, and that they must as quickly as possible get clear, hoping, probably, also to reach the calmer water of the lagoon, which must be just over the reef. This was ill-advised, however, as the boat and men had hardly cleared away and dropped into the darkness before the boat was capsized and nothing ever again seen of them.

In the mean time, in order to lighten the ship and lessen the danger of its keeling entirely over, the masts were ordered cut away, and when the weather lanyards

were chopped off and a few strokes made at the masts, these fell to leeward. The ship had now been boosted over the divide of the reef, but its further progress was stayed by masts falling over and acting as stays.

One man was crushed as the first boat was lowered, and the fate of the others was surmised; but the captain still fearing the wreck would soon go to pieces, called for his boat, intending to launch her with the eleven men remaining. But Holden believed this was the most dangerous course. It had ever been a motto with him, "Don't give up the ship," and he considered the wreck would still be the safest place; he decided therefore to hold on to the last plank. Noticing his attitude, some of the boys said, "Are you going in the boat?" and he answered "No." "Then we will not," they replied. Three, however, were found ready to try it with the captain, but it proved only a hazardous failure.

As the ship was lying on her beam ends it was with great difficulty that the boat was gotten ready, and at every wave a sea of water fell over the decks that threatened to wash anyone without a strong handhold overboard. Holden went into the captain's cabin for the sextant and log book, etc., and found the task very difficult, but succeeded in obtaining them. It was a fearful place inside the ship. Then the captain and the three men were ready to be committed to the sea. At what seemed an opportune moment the order came, "lower away," and the boat dropped; but the lull was but just before a violent sea that caught the boat, and with one stroke dashed it against the ship's bottom, shattering it to fragments. The men were tossed into the water, but one of them seized the gripe of a loose lanyard, and swinging around by the stern of the vessel reached the lee side, and there crawled aboard. The captain had tied himself, before getting into a boat, by a towline

around the waist, and as he was thrown into the waves the boys aboard saw the line spin out through the scupper hole. They made an effort to snub this in, but not until all but the last reel or so had been paid out did they succeed. Then it slacked, and they towed the "old man" aboard.

All that now remained was to wait upon the wreck until morning, though passing the longest night he ever remembers, says Holden. At daybreak the hulk was still intact, and an old whale boat was gotten out on the deck, and after considerable work made ready for launching. At a distance of about two miles and a half, over the misty lagoon, there appeared something whitish, which imagination led them to think might be the mate's boat, with the oars. Towards this, after launching their old boat and filling with what provisions they could carry, they pulled away. But they found the object not a boat, but a little sand beach, on a very low island. Their situation was certainly far worse for the effort of the mate and captain to leave the wreck, as in many and many an instance of the kind has proved. With the two boats intact, and a full crew their situation would not have been hopeless. As it was they were comparatively helpless; for they were in the very midst of the islanders that are the fear of all castaway sailors; men of the same habits as the Fijis and some of the African tribes, in whom the taste of human flesh has destroyed all sentiment of humanity. However, the eleven men in the old whale boat had nothing to do but wait on the little sand beach until the sea should calm down, when they might return to the wreck and see what they might do to patch up a boat or raft that would take them to some place of refuge. In the distance they could see Ahkee Angle [Kajangle?], of the Pelew group of islands.

Their latitude was about seven degrees north of the equator.

However, they had not been undiscovered, and on the third day, just about daybreak, were visited by a canoe, with several natives. At a safe distance the little craft stopped. The wrecked sailors, knowing that any sign of hostility would be only more dangerous to themselves, now beckoned them to come on, which they cautiously did until within a short distance, and in shallow water, when the canoe stopped, two men, fore and aft, held the craft in position, and the rest leaped in the water and came ashore. Their object, however, was not to offer relief to the shipwrecked men, and of these they took little notice, but raced about wildly, almost like animals, searching for any wreckage or provisions that might be found. In this they were disappointed, as all the sailor's provisions had been cached. Then they began to cry to each "Moribite uhle"—go to the ship. Their object was simply wreckage, and no doubt these American sailors of the *Mentor* were not the first unfortunates that had enriched, by their misfortunes, this piratical race.

The natives made no attempt to molest them; but had hardly begun their cry to go to the ship, before one of the sailors cried out: "Look yonder, look yonder;" and raising their eyes they saw now appearing the entire lagoon covered with a fleet of native canoes. They at once saw that these people meant no good, and ran their boat out into deep water and tried to be in readiness for defense. But in a few moments they were surrounded by canoes of all sizes, which were occupied by a full body of natives, mostly naked, and brandishing the cruel native spears, which are long handled and bearing at the end a hardwood point, with three sharp barbs run-

ning back a foot or so on the shank. Babylon seemed also to have broken loose, the natives yelling and jabbering in the most hideous manner. Nevertheless, there was no offer of violence as yet, and in a few minutes the whole fleet started away for the wreck, which they undoubtedly soon broke up for the spikes and iron.

The sailors were left alone except for one canoe which hung by. This was a large war canoe and held about twenty men, who stood up and held spears and battle axes and tomahawks. It was evidently that of a chief.

TO THE ISLAND OF THE CANNIBALS.

The chief, however, did not seem unfriendly, and when, by motions and words partly understood, he indicated that they were to follow, there seemed no other course open. It must be understood that in escaping from the wreck, it had been impossible to take their firearms, and it was to some extent in hope of obtaining these that they had started onto the water ; but being surrounded by the fleet of native canoes, had been entirely unable to pursue their object. Any resistance would therefore be useless, and bring down the immediate violence of savages whose appearance indicated a low order of intelligence and little humanity.

There was a light wind, and as they moved along over the waters of the lagoon, the canoe of the natives hoisted their lateen sail, and then coming nearer, the chief called out to let him have the painter of the boat. But to do this the sailors felt reluctant, and refused. Then he sailed his craft about the boat a few times, showing its speed and ability to sail into the wind ; then again demanded the painter, and the canoe now came alongside, made fast, and the chief, with utmost unconcern, sprang from his canoe, into the boat, and began a per-

sonal inspection of all on board. He showed much curiosity in regard to a box of biscuit, wishing to break it open and examine the contents. He wished also to open and examine a bundle of clothes. This he was not allowed to do, and in consequence began to show signs of dissatisfaction. Still the canoe went on, towing them after by the painter, until almost out of sight of shore. Then came the cry "Morio ahani"—drop the sail, which was done quickly, and the canoe dropped alongside, the chief sprang back; and the whole party of savages raised their bamboo poles and began most viciously attacking the sailors, striking all within reach.

The sailors in the boat had but four oars, and these proved to be unsound; for as they began shoving away to get clear, one was snapped off, leaving the boat but poorly supplied. The order was also given to cut the painter; but this was a matter of no little difficulty, and the sailor who had it to do was under a rain of blows from the bamboo sticks, which were only so frequent as to interrupt each other. However, it was done, and the boat then shoved off, gaining some space between itself and the canoe. But the natives were no sooner out of reach of striking with their sticks than they began flinging hand billets of wood, striking and hurting some of the sailors. Then, as the distance widened, they began hurling their spears, all of which, however, at first fell short. One, however, nearly struck the captain, who saved himself from an ugly wound only by suddenly heeling over, as he sat in the stern sheets.

The object now was to get clear at all events, if the savages made any attempt to pursue further. That such was their intention, only too soon became clear, as they raised the sail and prepared to renew their attack. It was impossible, especially now that there was but three oars left, to outspeed them; and only some sort of skill

would suffice. The captain tried first steering directly into the wind ; and this for a little while put the savages to a disadvantage ; but their sail was able to bring them in two points of the wind's eye, and it was clear to the writer that in no great time they would be overhauled. Then some strategy must be resorted to ; and the bundle of shirts was opened. One by one the articles were taken out and thrown upon the water ; and the device had the desired effect. The canoe stopped to pick up the articles, one after another, and was thus constantly thrown out of her course. When in time the contents of the bundle were exhausted, and still the canoe pursued, the shirts were stripped from the backs of the sailors, and the sops still thrown to Cerberus ; and so long was the pursuit, that the island was all but lost sight of.

At length the day was almost spent, the sun only about an hour high, and as it would soon be dark, the pursuit was given over, and our sailors, well nigh exhausted, and in much worse condition than ever, with their old boat and brittle oars, were left to meet the night. This seemed hardly a human part of the world, where man and nature were both unfriendly.

BOGLE THORPE.

The twilight was very short, as always in the tropics—"at one stride comes the dark ;" and all night they kept watch, looking for any sign of land that might appear. For unfriendly as had been their reception on the reef, the sea, to men in their situation, meant only death by starvation or famishing of thirst. At about 3 o'clock in the morning they were roused by one of the men crying "land ahead," and the response of the officer "where away?" A dark object just appeared on the horizon, under the stars, and the distance could not be easily

reckoned. Soon, however, they discovered themselves in rapidly shoaling water, and the rugged form of a reef began to appear. It was with difficulty that at daylight they passed an entrance that they found, and at length gained the calmer waters of the lagoon. It was yet twenty miles to the land itself.

For this, as the sun rose and mounted, they pulled away, and at length reached a nice little beach of a fine sandy shore, and upon this, above the level of the water, grew abundant groves of tropical trees, the largest and most grateful of which was the breadfruit tree. This produces fruit nine months of the year, and to the castaways, who had had nothing but sea biscuit for three days, here was spread a rich feast. There were also cocoanuts and a species of tropical fruit much resembling cherries. To add to their comfort was also found a spring of fine water, such as they had not had on the reef. Near the spring they found a large crab, such as frequents the shores in the tropical regions.

But they were not to be long left alone in this cove on the shore—in the groves of breadfruit and cocoanuts. Soon a native canoe came in sight, and at a distance of about two hundred yards stopped. It was occupied by a few boys and men, who stood up at a safe distance and held up a fish in sign of friendliness, and the sailors of Holden's party responded at once by holding up the crab which they had just caught. The natives then came toward them, seeming very friendly and shaking hands. They then went to the boat, but found nothing there. In order to meet this friendly manifestation Holden took his hat off and made a present of this to the boy, who replied, "Mario English; sabiete Pelew"—"Hello Englishman; come to Pelew."

The canoe then put out into the lagoon, leading the way, and the sailors in the boat considered that there

was nothing better than to follow, being in no condition to resist and not wishing to rouse the hostility of the savages. After some time on the lagoon they reached the mouth of a bayou from the interior of the island, towards which the canoe led the way, and they felt the intimation that they would be taken to the portion of the country seldom seen by strangers. A loud blast of warning was then blown by one in the canoe upon a conch, an alarm that white men were coming, and in almost an instant the waters became alive with many native canoes, putting into the lagoon from the bayou and every winding of the shore. But as flight would now be useless they pulled directly into the fleet, and were soon confronted by an immense war canoe about fifty feet long and holding about thirty-two men armed with spears, battleaxes, etc.

With the actions and intention of this canoe Holden and his party naturally felt much concern, and were not a little solicitous as it bore down upon them with all paddles in action and the craft itself cutting the light waves of the now narrowing arm of the lagoon. Suddenly, as it came exactly abreast, and in truth made a somewhat imposing appearance with its armed and bronze-bodied occupants, the paddles were reversed, it came to an instant stand, and all the paddlers but two stood up. By the two it was held in its position as firmly as if tied, and the chief then rose and sprang into the stern sheets of the whaleboat. His manner betokened no kindness, and with the utmost indifference he looked around at the sailors, evidently estimating the plunder to be had. He then began stamping as he stood in the stern sheets, and the twenty-nine unoccupied natives began with him the looting of all that appeared. He first snatched at the shirt of the captain, which the latter gave up without resistance. The other white men were

then stripped of their shirts, and with tomahawks and axes the savages began to break the boat, their object being to secure the iron of the nails, rivets, etc. The comfort or rights, or even lives of the sailors cast upon their shore seemed to be regarded not the least, though they were admitted, stripped and humiliated as they were, into the big canoe.

TO THE INTERIOR OF THE ISLAND.

It was some relief to know that they were not to be killed at once, though there was little indication of their final fate. They could simply follow the course taken by their savage captors. The canoe was immediately run into a bayou, and after proceeding a short distance stuck fast in the mud. The sailors were at once ordered by signs to jump into the water and proceed by foot. Holden was a swift runner, and finding the bottom of the bayou firm ran briskly up the nearly dry water course. Bending over on both sides were many sorts of tropical trees and under any other circumstances the scene would have been of striking delightfulness.

In about a quarter of a mile the bayou ended, and among the trees was disclosed a considerable opening. Here, in fact, was one of the principal villages of the island of Pelew. There was first encountered a broad wall, about five feet high, built of selected stones. From the surface of this, which was about the level of the land, appeared quite an extensive space, like a park, terminating at a distance in a natural bluff of about twelve feet face. Upon the flat was built the town. What most attracted the eyes of the white captives was, near the center of the area, a platform about twelve feet square, and two feet high, made of flat stones. This was the place of public consultation, and near were seen two

large council houses. Most gruesome of all was a block of wood closely resembling a butcher's block. This was set at one side of the platform and was recognized at once as the facility of executions.

As the captives were brought near the platform they saw that, naked and miserable as they were, they were the center of attraction. Crowds of natives appeared and gathered on the bluffs. They were armed with battle axes and spears, and were dressed mainly in tattoos.

Then the chief and his advisers came to the platform and began counseling what to do, their sentiments being understood by the sailors only from the tones of their voices, which were loud and rough. In the mean time the crowds of the people pressed and thronged about the white men, examining them with utmost curiosity. That these were not absolutely without human feelings was even then shown, by at least one woman. She worked her way toward the captives, and finally paused near Holden, with tears streaming down her face, and having no other way of expressing sympathy began stroking his arm; then, probably intending to gain the ear of the counselors, cried out "Chlora cabool; arrakath English."

Her exclamation seems to have been heard, as one of the men on the platform came to the edge, and addressing the captives asked "Kow English; or kow American English?" The American sailors quickly answered "American English." By this information, matters seemed to be brought to an immediate change. The question was now discussed, as nearly as could be understood, whether they should at once cut off the heads of the captives, or send for instructions to the sorceress of the island to learn the will of the spiritual powers. The latter course prevailed and a young man was selected who should run as rapidly as possible.

While he was gone the first indication of any hospi-

tality on the part of the savages was now shown. A young man was sent to prepare a dish of sweetened water, and soon returned, bringing the drink. He came down over the bluff and carried a large calabash, about the size of a half bushel measure on his head, and bringing it to the platform was helped by a chief to set down his load. A cocoanut dipper was then produced, and the chief took with it the first draught, then offered it to the sailors, who drank all around. The syrup made by the natives was from the sap of cocoanut trees, and of an agreeable flavor.

The messenger soon returned from Aiburel, the chief village, where the sorceress of the island, an old woman, held her sacred place. He brought word that the men must be brought to her in order that she might see them. The order was at once obeyed. The head chief, or king, rose and all his subordinates followed, taking the way up the bluff. The captured sailors went immediately after them, and the crowd followed irregularly behind.

AIBUREL AND THE OLD WITCH.

After passing up the low bluff and gaining the general level of the island, they saw a paved footpath, or narrow road, about three feet wide, well laid with flat stones. This they followed about three miles. Under more hopeful circumstances this would have been a most delightful walk. On both sides there were shade trees, forming an arching canopy overhead.

As they approached the town another public place with a platform appeared, and near by were council houses. The residence from which the woman who was to decide their fate came out reminded Holden strongly of a building in Boston—Simpson's old feather store, near Faneuil Hall. The platform to which they were led

was about a foot high. It was shaded by such tropical trees as the betel, the nut of which was chewed, mixed with chenán [chinar?] leaf and lime, discoloring the teeth and mouth almost black,—and the chenán [chinar?] and cocoanut.

The woman of the island showed much curiosity as she looked at the men, and they were also rather struck by her appearance. Her finger nails had been allowed to grow to full length, some two or three inches. She was dressed in aprons, such as were made of the frayed kuriman leaf, the fibers being braided at the belt and falling in thick strings, much resembling a horse's mane, to the knees.

After satisfying her curiosity she returned to her house, and soon a young man appeared, coming out with the head of a hog, well roasted, and a calabash of water, which he set down on the platform. The meat looked extremely appetizing, but the sailors hardly knew what was expected, when one of them attracted the attention of the rest by exclaiming, "Look yonder;" then a very unexpected sight met their eyes.

THE LITTLE OLD MAN.

This was nothing less than a little old man hastening, as fast as his short and now rather shriveled legs could carry him, toward the platform. He waddled along with a paddling motion like a duck. He was no more than five feet tall, tatooed, and his mouth was black from betel nut. He wore a breechcloth and carried a little basket, in which were shells, small pieces of bright stones, and trinkets, probably representing considerable value in island wealth.

The others yielded him right of way, and he came as near as possible to the platform, regarding the castaway

sailors with the utmost concern and astonishment; but his was not so great as theirs, for the sailors at once saw that he was a white man—a shriveled, dried up little Englishman. He was trembling so much with excitement that he could hardly speak, but after a little, commanding his voice, he said: “My God, you are Englishmen, are you not?”

“Yes,” they answered.

“You are safe now,” he continued. “I have some authority; I am the sixth chief. I mistrusted that something was wrong,” he continued, “for I found a ‘Bowditch’s Navigation’ on the shore, and have been looking to find who might have been wrecked. You are safe now,” he said, “but it is a wonder,” and this he kept repeating.

The cause of his surprise was not so astonishing, as he afterwards told them that about six months before this an English ship had cruised off their coast, and had wantonly shot some of the natives. Thus the white man here, as in too many cases of barbarian savagery, seems to have been the first aggressor.

This singular little man, who now appeared so opportunely, and who called himself Charles Washington (perhaps an assumed name), had escaped many years before from an English man-of-war on a cruise in the East Indies, his offense having been sleeping on watch, and during his sleep losing his musket; an islander having taken it and slipped overboard down the anchor chain; and Charlie, upon waking soon and finding the loss, also slid overboard, fearing a very severe punishment. He soon identified himself with the Pelews, being tatooed and marrying a native woman.

After these preliminary words of inquiry, he said, “Boys, that food is for you,” and needing no further invitation the eleven men fell to with a will.

TWELVE MONTHS ON PELEW.

The situation of the stranded American sailors now became very tolerable. The tedium of the days was enlivened by frequent conversations with Charley Washington, the little old Englishman, and through him with the natives, and in learning the language and customs of these South Sea islanders.

As day after day passed, however, with monotonous regularity and no sail of a white man's ship appeared, the Americans began to think of the advisability of attempting a voyage by boat to some other less remote point in the seas. Finally mentioning this to the natives, they were encouraged, and the king of the island declared that he himself and his people would build a suitable ship for the purpose. He said that some time past there was a white man's ship lost among the Koracoas, inhabitants of a neighboring archipelago, and that these people had built a ship by which the mariners returned home. If the Koracoas could do this for Captain Wilson and his crew—that being the name of the former shipwrecked captain,—why could not the Pelews do the same for Captain Barnard?

Without any particular faith in this scheme, and knowing that the king's suggestion was mere conceit, the Americans, however, accepted the proffer, and readily agreed to procure for him payment for his proposed services,—which was no less than two hundred rifles if he would deliver them safely to an American or European vessel.

The command then went forth to the chiefs to bring timbers and prepare for making a ship. This was quickly obeyed, and all sorts and descriptions of timber were brought together with childish eagerness. The royal command was then given to put these together and con-

struct the craft. But of the ill matched and miscellaneous materials, and with their entire ignorance of shipbuilding, nothing whatever could be made. The king then sent word to the sailors to come themselves and make the ship; but without proper tools, and with the timbers on hand, even the white men could do nothing, or make any sort of seaworthy craft. They worked, therefore, only long enough to make a good demonstration of the of the futility of the attempt, and then stopped.

By this the natives were much disappointed, and became moody and uncommunicative, while the sailors resumed their occupation of scanning the horizon from day to day in hopes of sighting a sail. When, however, it became apparent to the islanders that the ship could not be constructed out of timbers, they proposed to make a very large canoe in their own way, out of the biggest tree on all the island of Pelew, and thus deliver the sea-bound Americans and get the ransom of rifles. This was more encouraging and the sailors readily agreed. The king appointed a day of feasting, and then gave the command to fell a great breadfruit tree that had been growing from almost immemorial times, and overhung the cliff that sloped to the lagoon. This was at length felled, but unluckily, and greatly to the disappointment of the natives, the huge trunk, which was about nine feet in diameter, and probably unsound, was split into several pieces as it pitched over the bluff. Following this new disappointment the natives again sulked, and the sailors had no other hope but in watching the horizon.

Months passed by. The king, however, was still captivated with the idea of getting rifles in return for his white refugees, and at length said that in the interior of the island there was another tree nearly as large as the big one, and probably sounder. Should they make a canoe out of this for the Americans? This was at once

agreed upon, and after another feast—whose object no doubt was to get the people together,—workmen attacked the tree, and it was felled without accident. It was shaped and in part hollowed out on the ground, and then moved to the seashore. This latter was a great task, and required no little engineering skill. The trunk of the tree was eight feet or more thick, and the uncompleted boat correspondingly large. Long poles were brought and bound to the hulk, and upon these an immense force of natives were placed, lifting together, and the burden was carried by mere muscular strength.

All now worked eagerly, the sailors themselves making sails out of the mats that had been woven by the women for the first attempted craft. A considerable supply of poi was also in readiness, prepared by the women from taro, for the voyage. Three of the Pelews were selected to accompany the sailors, and to bring back the guns.

OFF FROM PELEW.

Just a year had been passed upon this strange island when all was ready to start off, and to commit their course once more to the sea, trusting to bring up somewhere nearer rescue. Three men, however, had to be left as hostage, in order, as the king and his advisers reasoned, to insure the fulfillment of their contract on the part of the whites. This, and indeed all the acts of these islanders, indicated quite a large intelligence and shrewdness, or cunning; and showed that the savage is not so much the inferior of the civilized man in native intelligence as in humanity. Individually, all savages show themselves very fair equals of the civilized—in some respects their superiors. It is socially that they indicate deficiency.

The day that the Americans believed that they were

off, a new delay occurred. The Pelews declared that they must wait until nightfall. "The Karacoa people," they said, "will come out and capture us; we shall be taken for King George men." It would in fact have been best if the attempt had not been made, as the three sailors left as hostages reached America precisely the same time as Holden and his one surviving comrade. However, the future could not be foreseen, and even a forlorn hope of rescue seemed preferable to an indefinite stop on the island of Pelew. As night fell, as it always falls suddenly in the tropics, all was made ready for the departure. The provisions were placed on board; two green bamboo joints of water were allowed for drink, each holding two to three gallons of water, or more, being about as large as stovepipes and about two feet long. All was ready, and the eleven Americans and three Pelews lifted the anchors and made a start. Besides the canoe, in which there were seven, the sailors still had the old whale boat, which had been repaired, and four, among whom was Holden, occupied this. As the tide was low, the crafts were drawn down the bayou and out over the flats into deep water of the lagoon. They then began a circuitous movement, intending to find the opening of the reef on the outer side of the lagoon, out of which to drop off into the main ocean. But the men in the boat were soon startled by the cry from a native in the canoe "We are filling with water!" Coming along side they found this was even so, and Holden said "We shall go back." The boat was also leaking considerably.

The natives objected strongly, believing that once on the sea they could manage to drift, as water had very little terror for them. Their minds were so much made up for the guns and ammunition promised that they overlooked such little impediments as a sinking boat. However, Holden insisted that they must return and repair

the crafts; and this was done, all arriving safely on the island early in the morning. The natives, however, were very much chagrined and sullen for a number of days. But, plucking up courage and hope, went to work, and got some of the gum of the breadfruit, which made a pitch somewhat resembling maple wax, and with this filled the seams injudiciously made in hollowing out the canoe. The boat was also patched up as well as possible; and a second attempt was made. The sailors said "we shall choose our time for starting," and named the morning as best. To this the natives made little objection, and the start was made in much the same order as before.

ON THE WAVES AGAIN.

They were accompanied down the bayou and across the flat and far out upon the lagoon by probably every soul on the island, the native canoes swarming precisely as they had done twelve months before when the shipwrecked sailors were brought to the interior. Finally the farewell was taken, the exit was made from the lagoon, and the two crafts, the canoe and the boat, dropped off upon the deep sea. The day was nearly spent as they began their course upon the unknown ocean, and the sun was but an hour high. The sailors began to realize upon what a hazardous venture they had embarked, and discovered how frail and unseaworthy was their canoe. They had no chart or compass, and their venture was evidently fearfully perilous. They were in the region of unknown islands, and might soon drift into that portion of the South Sea known as "The Desert," from the infrequency of the ships visiting it. Moreover, the canoe, made without skill, went like a sawlog, bobbing up and down on the sea swells. "Never mind," however, they said, "we have started." Just about as soon as the sun dipped

there rose squalls of wind and rain, which to the sailors just from the sheltered island seemed icy cold. The main care was to keep off the reef, and thus they worried along until morning. Night at last passed without accident, though their progress was very slow. The second day was passed on the sea, all land being out of sight. Just at sunset again, as the day before, there came up squalls of wind and rain. At length the rudder of the canoe was carried away, and there was nothing but to drift and keep as nearly upright as possible until morning. At early daylight, as the weather moderated, they succeeded in making the rudder fast again, and resumed their voyage to anywhere or nowhere.

They so continued until the fifth day, having considerable confidence in sailors' luck, and keeping a sharp lookout for an island or for a sail. On the evening of that day, however, affairs took a turn for the worse. Just after sunset the wind rose again as on the first nights, only more fiercely, with heavy black clouds succeeding. A gust, reminding them of the corner of a typhoon, struck the sail of the canoe, careening and nearly capsizing the clumsy craft. Hardly had it recovered from the first before it was struck by a second that bent the mast until the sail dipped in the water, upon which the canoe was overset and rolled on its beam. It immediately filled, and was now but a log on the waves. It had to be abandoned then and there, and the entire company crowded into the old whaleboat to the imminent risk of its also swamping. It was no little task to take off the sailors from the rolling hulk, but all were rescued safely, the Pelews taking care of themselves and swimming like water rats to the boat. One, however, clung to the canoe all night trying to get provisions, and succeeded in securing four cocoanuts. All

the rest of the food was lost. At daylight they took him aboard the boat, and finally abandoned the foundered craft. Then they took to the oars, pulling away steadily hour after hour, and as it proved for day after day, having no object except to keep going, and where they had no idea. The weather became calm and the sea glassy. The sun shone twelve hours out of the twenty-four and passed so nearly overhead as to cast little shadow at noon, but filled the whole sky with heat and made the horizon all around, never broken either by notch of land or speck of sail, palpitate and waver like the atmosphere of an oven. It dropped precisely the same at night, and almost instantly the sky was full of brilliant stars, only they pointed to no known land.

This continued ten days, making this entire journey on the water sixteen days long. During the last part of this time, as might be supposed, there was great suffering from hunger and thirst. The four cocoanuts were all the food for ten days, and although they were saving of the water in the bamboo joints, this became thick as frogs' spawn, and sour and unfit to use. It had curdled and rotted in the juice of the wood. Some of the sailors drank saltwater, but these suffered most. Their lips swelled and cracked and turned dark. Holden wetted his mouth and face frequently, but though the temptation was great, resolutely abstained from the sea water. He greatly mitigated his thirst by keeping a button in his mouth, by which a flow of saliva was maintained. Indeed, he says that life may be prolonged almost indefinitely by thus using a button or coin, and the sense of thirst be mostly overcome without drink of any kind.

The men gradually gave up effort. Toward night of the sixteenth day they had all lain down and were yielding themselves to their fate. "They lay down in the boat side by side, like fingers on your hand," says Hol-

den; all but Holden. If the reader here begins to imagine that he is now romancing, it should be remembered that Holden is a man of uncommon vitality. At the age of ninety-one he shows the same tenacity of life as he tells of himself in the South Seas over sixty years ago. He has already "held on" thirty years longer than the most of his generation, and is perhaps the only survivor of that race of sailors in the South Seas.

It came on night. Holden sat in the stern sheets to manage a little sail that he had on the mast. He was "the only live one there." The others were dying, or waiting death, and only breathing, nor could be aroused from their lethargy. "What can I do?" he thought. "Here is the boat and all, and I can not leave them alone; but is it possible that I can keep awake all this night?" But this he determined to attempt. He gathered up the sheet and brought it aft, and got a steering oar. There rose now a light wind, that increased to a gentle and delightful breeze. He brought the sail toward the wind free. This was the sixteenth night on the sea, and during which he had scarcely slept. But he held the boat to her course, and amused himself listening to the sound of the water as the boat glided over the ripples.

The musings of this solitary man in a boat with a company who might all be but corpses, on a tropical sea, and not knowing where he was going, could not be but strange, and Mr. Holden is either as good a romancer as the Lakeside bard, or the "Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner" has been equaled by sober fact. The night seemed the longest he had ever spent, even in the South Seas, and it almost needed the assurance of the dawn streaking up at last in the east that he was not himself the dying or dead. It was a morning of extreme beauty, and sunrise on the tropical sea is a soul-stirring sight in clear weather. This was doubly and tenfold more so to Holden

as this day must either see his deliverance, or end his own power of endurance.

As it grew lighter Holden followed the circle of the horizon with his gaze, hoping to descry some sign of sail or land. At what seemed the very utmost limit of his vision, toward the brightening dawn, he saw a black hump on the water. Toward this he was steering, and as he advanced, and at length the sun shot up, he distinguished trees,—the tops of cocoanut palms. He was now certain that land was ahead, and with strange mingled feelings he watched it emerge and grow upon the sight until the sun was a full hour high. But, of course, whatever his sense of relief at first in the sight of palms and the thought of cocoanuts and fresh water, his next feeling was only of apprehension. He was undoubtedly to be saved from the sea only to fall into the hands of savages. The beauty of the scene, however, the island not as yet made frightful to him by its inhabitants, but rising like a fresh creation out of the ocean, was a sight never to be forgotten.

However his apprehensions were soon to be realized. Canoes were soon seen on the water and putting out to meet the boat. Holden at once sung out to the boys in the boat to awaken, but there was no stir. Four canoes could now be distinguished, but the number of the native occupants could not be counted. Holden continued singing out "Get up, get up, boys! The natives are bearing down on us!" Still he obtained no response, and he began jumping up and down on the stern sheets making a racket, and crying "you must, you shall get up!" By his noise they were partially aroused and began looking over the rail, and at the sight of the canoes were startled into what little life they still retained. The savages at first kept off, but finally, concluding apparently that the boat had no firearms, took a course directly

toward her. The sailors, just awakened from their lethargy, and Holden single handed and unarmed, were unable to make any resistance to what was evidently a hostile intention. Holden simply prepared to jump when the canoe struck, as she did in a few moments. It came at a dashing speed, and the sailors that did not jump into the water were knocked down helplessly and pitilessly.

The four chiefs sprang at once into the boat, and began knocking it to pieces, and made no account of the sailors. Their first concern was to secure for themselves as much as possible of the iron in the boat.

As Holden says they were "naked brutes," and of copper colored skins. Their absolute insensibility to the perishing sailors should be understood, however, as rather an intellectual limitation. They had not yet learned that the life of a man not of their tribe was of any value, and had learned that possession of iron was increase of power. The iron nails and spikes, therefore, excited all their activity, while the men were unnoticed.

Holden leaped into the water to avoid the collision, and those of his mates who did not do so, were unceremoniously thrown overboard by the natives, to be out of the way while the process of demolishing the boat went on. When this was broken nearly to the water line, it was decided by the chiefs to tow the bottom over to the land, and the fleet of canoes began moving toward shore. In the meantime, the sailors in the water had been attempting to sustain themselves by taking hold of the edges of the boat, but were pushed back into the water. Some tried to take hold of the outriggers of canoes, but were driven back. But when the boat was broken up, or what was left was taken in tow, the sailors were allowed to take refuge in the canoes. But this seems rather to have been for the purpose of plunder than humanity.

Holden was immediately taken up into a canoe, but what rags he wore were at once taken from him. This was a great cruelty, as the sun, in latitude three north, was boiling down now upon his shoulders, and without the protection of his shirt, soon began blistering. He was separated from his mates, and did not see what treatment they received, but afterwards learned that it was the same.

He was then given a paddle, and the order came "Saveth, saveth ! Take the paddle and help us pull to the shore, to Tobey." Such he understood was the name of the island. Holden, however, said "No," and shook his head ; being in fact too worn and exhausted to dread any consequences, and almost incapable of exertion. The native who thus commanded him now went to the bow of the canoe, and placing upon a bit of cocoanut shell a piece of poi about the size of a walnut, said "Eat." Holden opened his mouth and took the poi from the man's fingers, according to native custom. As is well known, poi is the staple food of the South Sea islanders, and is made from taro, a plant of the lily family, somewhat resembling turnip ; and the poi is of a mushy consistency, and is easily rolled up on the finger in a wad or ball, and is taken in the mouth without touching the finger. Holden then held the paddle, but did not row much.

ISLAND OF TOBEY.

This island, with its strange and fierce people, was destined to be the home of Holden for nearly two years, and here he underwent almost incredible sufferings, both of the body and the mind.

The canoes were directed toward the shore and entered the lagoon through the opening of the reef, and directly reached the landing. The tide was low, and upon reach-

ing the rocky edge that was exposed, Holden was lifted by the natives and boosted onto the beach above. This, on the lower portion, was covered with coarse gravel, being particles from off the coral reef, and in all degrees of comminution, but mostly particles coarse and sharp, or ragged. In walking up this coral shingle to the finer sands next the palm trees, his feet, which were bare, suffered intensely, being pierced and well nigh burned by the hot gravels. Once upon the smoother sands, and under the trees, he suffered little less. All the women of the island appeared and performed wild antics, cutting all the curlicues known to savages in praise of the exploit of their husbands in capturing specimens of the white race. Under the cocoanut trees, where he went, he was quickly surrounded by a group of boys, to whom he was an object of intense curiosity. They "oh'ed" and "ah'ed" and "ooh'ed," and repeated excitedly "putchi-butchi mari"—white man, white man—and shoved him in every direction and scanned him from all sides, in their eagerness. But this usage was of small torment compared to the pain they inflicted upon his blistered shoulders, each one insisting upon sampling him with the fingers, and one seizing or grabbing him away from another.

At last the miserable day passed, and night came on. The question then arose, what to do with the prisoner. Word was returned from some authority to place him in the Penniaris house—God's house—the house corresponding to our church. This was a mere hatch, with a roof laid on poles resting upon a plate about ten feet above the ground, set on posts. The two sides were open, but the ends, which were bowed somewhat outward so as to form a semicircle, were closed with thatch, and into one of these ends he was placed. The floor was the ground, but this was merely the sharp coral gravel, which

cut cruelly into his already lacerated skin. It was like the cinders of a blacksmith's forge, and upon waking in the morning, he was sore and stiff almost beyond endurance.

This was his entrance upon Tobey, a lonely island seven hundred miles from Pelew. It was a new territory, a new world; not so much in its natural aspects as in the character of the inhabitants. They were apparently without many of the human feelings, and without usual means of influence or control.

A BRITISH SHIP.

Holden was fed a small allowance of poi, and the curiosity of the natives generally wore off. He was beginning to regain his strength and a certain hopefulness of mind. However, he saw nothing of his mates, who, however, were treated in much the same way, being disposed singly in different places on the island.

In about twenty days he was astonished and overjoyed by the sight of an East Indian merchant ship, appearing early in a morning within a few miles of the shore. This was the signal for a wild rush of the natives to reach the vessel in their canoes in order to get a present of iron. It was no less thrilling to the castaway Americans, who, in their nakedness and feebleness, still had no means of reaching the vessel. There was only one course, and that was to seize their chance to accompany the canoes and make their way thus.

This they attempted. Two, the captain, Barnard, and one sailor, Rawlins, almost literally fought their way thither, taking a place in a canoe and refusing to leave, and so threatening and delaying the native boatmen that they preferred to carry them on rather than risk the chance of missing the ship and any little scrap of iron

that they might secure. But the other sailors, being less forward, were driven back, or dashed into the water. Holden made a wild rush to a canoe just putting off and started with it, but was thrown out. However, he seized the side of the craft and although his fingers were heavily belabored, still clung until the canoe put back. But the moment it was off he again caught onto the outrigger and was towed along. Maddened by his pertinacity the natives again returned and casting him on the shore dealt him a blow upon the head that rendered him helpless and nearly senseless. When he came to the ship was gone, and he and the eight others were left in "that horrible place."

It seemed incredible, and something stunning to his mind, that an English ship could have left him and his fellow sailors, after learning, as must have been the case from the captain, that white men were there. He would not have believed that Barnard and Rawlins reached the vessel had it not been that his mates saw them climb up the companion way and over on to the deck. The name of the captain of that ship should be remembered, as a man of a brutality equal to that of any of the natives, and one from whom the natives perhaps learned something of the hardness shown the sailors. It was Sommes, and when finally rescued, Holden was told the pitiful excuse that he offered for his act.

It was for some time impossible for Holden and his mates to believe that they had been left, and the nine Americans waited, expecting that a boat would return for them; but they only saw the great ship stand off and finally disappear not to come back, or to send any word or help. The natives were much dissatisfied and grumbled at great length at what they considered the niggardly treatment of the British ship, from which they were given but the hoops of an old barrel knocked down on

the spot for them. They were thus taught the small value of a sailor's life, and encouraged to treat castaways with contempt and cruelty. Holden and his companions feared that their ugly temper would find vent in the torture or death of themselves, but did not meddle to attempt any explanation.

A CHANGE.

However there now came a change. This was for the worse. The sailors were divided off to masters and set to work. But at the same time instead of more food to keep up their strength, less was given them; it was barely enough to sustain life. Holden's work was assisting his master pull a boat in fishing at night, and in working the taro patches. This latter was very laborious, especially making new pits. The taro is grown in soft muddy ground, which must be prepared by digging pits out of the rock, and then filling the cavity with earth, and leading in water. The rock is broken up with hardened wooden pikes, from the already partly decomposed coral rocks, and then the pieces must be lifted and thrown or carried outside. Under a broiling sun, and in pits sunk six feet deep, such work is heavy, even with the best of food. But on the low and insufficient diet allowed him, it was slow death.

He worked away, however, stolidly if not patiently, feeling a certain hardening and listlessness as his life was reduced and the probability of escape or rescue seemed passing away. The sight of a ship no longer meant rescue, as even if another hove in sight, it was by no means certain that he could induce the natives to let him reach it, or that the ship itself would be brought within hail.

One day, however, he met with a menace of death

that brought some little sympathy from the natives. He was working as usual in the taro patch, but in an old pit. He was half knee deep in the mud, and with his hands as a spade was seizing the mud and casting it behind him. It was about ten in the morning, the sun now shining well down over the tops of the cocoanut trees. Suddenly he went out of life, dropping as if dead, and all consciousness snuffed out, quickly as a candle might be extinguished. Upon coming to again, which was a gradual return, he found himself lying on the bank next the pit, and the sun was not over an hour high. He had been unconscious about seven hours. He heard voices near; it was the natives talking about him, repeating "Samoriat Temit" Temit is dead, perhaps as a sort of rite. They were greatly astonished and showed considerable pleasure when he began to stir. "Temit" was the name given him, the significance of which, however, Mr. Holden does not know. When he rose they brought him what they thought he needed to eat and drink.

This was procured from the cocoanut palm near by. A boy was sent up the tree, and a large cocoanut was selected and thrown to the ground. This was properly ripe, not bursting as those but two thirds ripe are wont to do. The husk was quickly removed and the one free eye—two of the three eyes are "blind," and it is from the free or open eye that the milk is drawn and the shoot springs—was opened and he was told to drink. He took a portion and returned it to his master, who, however, gave it back, and he then drank all. The shell was then broken and the soft, delicious meat—such as is never seen in the shriveled meats that we see—was given him, and he ate the whole of it. He was, in fact, dying of hunger, having been allowed nothing the morning he went to work or the night before.

He had now become the property of a leading man of

the island, and the family to whom he belonged seemed to have some actual feeling for him, but worked him unmercifully, and except on that occasion did not give him sufficient food.

Time wore on amid hunger and thirst and hard work, and still no permission to see the other men. He suffered constantly for fresh water, there being little or none on the island, the natives quenching their thirst with eating the succulent taro, or poi, and drinking cocoanut milk. Holden, not having enough of these, learned to eat certain leaves, which furnished juice and stimulated saliva. He was threatened with death from flux, and looking among the leaves wondered if some of them might not relieve him, and found that they did.

To show his misery of insufficiency of food, he tells of eating raw fish on the sly. He was required one morning to follow his master to a special fishing place where a species solely for the use of the women was taken. These were to be for his master's wife, who was spending certain time at the taliboo house of the women. The master went ahead and, dipping his net, brought up one fish—a small sort, but a finger or so in length. This, however, was given Holden to carry; and presently another was taken, which was also given him. The temptation to eat was irresistible, and with one or two swallows it was gone. A number of others were taken and the theft—if it might be so called—was not discovered. Besides that fish he tasted no animal food on the island, except a bite of turtle. This was given him by a priest. But one turtle was caught while he was on the island, and this was the perquisite of the priests. While they were eating he could not restrain his hunger, and sat down, like any other beggar, on his haunches, and begged for a morsel. For a long time the priest gave him no notice, but at last deigned to cast him a fragment from

the entrails. This he accepted only too eagerly. The priest in refusing him at first would throw back his hair and scratch his head and say "It's tahboo"—himself only being able to take off the tahboo, which he finally did, after gormandizing his fill.

As to the cause of this stinginess of food, Mr. Holden says that to a small community like those on Tobey, the coming of eleven men, who had already been nearly starved, made quite a draught, and they were themselves nearly always more or less short of victuals. Tropical abundance was not realized under their manner of cultivation. Abundance of food, like the most of blessings, is a product of civilization. They also seemed to have many strange superstitions, and the priests, who managed the tahboo mysteries, required their living from the people.

A PERIOD OF HORRORS.

It was perhaps owing to the scarcity of some articles of food, or some superstitious awakening among the people, that a rising of a part of the people against the white men began. It led to acts that can not be recalled without a shudder, to think that even savages should perpetrate such deliberate cruelty, or that white men should suffer it. Mr. Holden's account only occasions the surmise how many sailors have perished, as the most of his comrades did, in the South Seas, but with the hope that that phase of trade and commerce in the world has passed away.

On a certain day, along before noon, the family of his master, of which he was now considered one, were all together in the house, when suddenly there was heard a fearful yelling from some distance down the shore. The master raised a whoop and started out of the house, followed at once by the wife and four children. Holden did

not move; but in a short time he began to feel that some tragedy was occurring. His mind fell into a horrid state, and he felt his flesh creeping and hair crawling as he listened to the continued yelling and turmoil. His anxiety now became so intense he could remain no longer, and he walked out upon the sand beach and looked down the shore. Not a soul appeared in sight. He went forward a few rods, but being weak from the sickness referred to above sat down in the sand at a point where the waves of the rising tide bubbled up and still watched down the shore. Then all at once two men, at some distance, made their appearance from the shrubbery of the island, moving rapidly onto the beach and bending forward. In another instant it was seen that they were carrying some sort of an object, and in the next that this was a man. It was evident that this was one of his shipmates, and that the proceedings were his massacre. Holden watched a moment longer, until a third man appeared, having a boulder in his hand with which he began crushing the head of the victim, who was then hurried to the water's edge by the bearers. But suddenly, while Holden was stealing off, a shower of blows from clubs was rained upon his own head. A party of the murderers had crept up upon him while he was watching with horror the fate of his mate, and thus unexpectedly began an attempt upon his own life.

Holden at first fell partially stunned and lay with his arms over his head in order to shield himself from the blows, and attempted to rise, but was unable. However, recovering himself somewhat, he sat up. The natives, who were attacking him, perhaps became a little confused, and seizing a favorable moment Holden sprang to his feet, feeling a sudden acceleration of strength. He knew now that it was neck or nothing, and with bare hands began striking right and left, sailor fashion. By

this warlike attitude the natives were somewhat confused, but raising a terrific din began striking violently, though somewhat at random. Unable to hit his head, but still ringing blow after blow on his arms, which soon seemed battered to a pumice along the outer side. He looked in every direction, but saw no friendly face, and knowing that he must soon be worn out, changed his tactics, and suddenly darted to one side and made a rush for his master's hut. They followed after in a savage rage, but only occasionally were able to reach him with a blow upon the shoulders. Even in such a scuffle as this the mental superiority of the white man appeared. A murder or massacre by savages owes much of its horror to lack of purpose and method. He was, however, now very much helped, and in fact no doubt saved, by the appearance upon the scene of an old gray-headed man, who stood between him and his pursuers, holding them back.

By this diversion Holden was able to gain his master's hut and take refuge in the loft. This was a room above the lower apartment, with a floor but eight or nine feet above ground, and was reached through a scuttle hole by means of a rope that dangled down. After using the rope, and pausing a moment to breathe and recover himself, he forgot, or neglected to haul it up, and in a very short time savages were below, and in another instant one ferocious native was climbing after and had already placed a hand upon the ledge to draw himself to the floor. He was a fearful sight, gritting his teeth and eyes glaring; but his hold was at once unloosed by Holden, who seized and twisted the fingers, and the man with howls of rage fell back. This process was repeated a number of times, until the rage and turmoil of the murderers seemed to pass all bounds. Then they attempted another plan. The entire upper part of a man's

body was thrust up the scuttle hole, being held from below by a powerful native, and Holden saw that he must soon be forced back ; but at that instant the body of the intruder was drawn down and cast with a dull thud upon the ground. This was done by the master, who had returned, and seeing what was happening threw himself upon the lower part of the man's body, carrying him down and knocking over also the one that held him. This was not the same party that attacked him at first. Those had been held back by the old man, but the murderers of the other sailor, whose name was Pete, came up, and learning where Holden had gone, followed to finish him also ; but by the timely appearance of his master he was now safe. This attempt upon his life and that of the others was not countenanced by the leading men, and the ringleaders were seized and held by Holden's master and his friends until a promise was given to molest Temit no more.

There were two families living in this hut, one being that of a brother, a man of gigantic stature, nearly seven feet tall, who, as soon as the house was rid of the murderers, came to the scuttle hole and called, "Woobish, woobish," come down and I will put you down on the ground. Holden thinking that there was no way but to trust him did as told, and let himself into the giant's arms, who took him carefully and let him to the floor in a very gentle manner. Holden could scarcely yet think himself safe, and the memory of the murderer who ascended the rope seemed fixed on his mind for days. It was indeed a fearful sight, the man beside himself with passion, with glaring eyes and teeth grinding, and having in human form all the insensibility and incapacity of pity or reason pertaining to a wild beast.

However, his master and his party were truly friendly to Temit, and after a long and excited discussion decided

to defend him at all costs. They inquired of one another "What shall we do with Temit? Where will he be safe?" Then the big man suggested that the best place would be in their father's hut. This was one of the best on the island, and was thatched all around. After a supper shared with the family he was taken to the house of the old people and shown a place of concealment and was given a cocoanut palm mat, upon which he slept quite comfortably. He was also supplied with taro, and remained in the thatch for three days. Word was then sent that he would be safe at home, and he returned.

FURTHER HORRORS.

The policy of destroying the white men was continued. The one that Holden saw killed was Pete Anderson. His body was taken out to the outer edge of the lagoon, and was cast into the main ocean, as if unfit to remain on the island. Not long after one of the Pelew chiefs was killed. He had been accused of stealing cocoanuts, some of these having been taken, and he was pitched upon by the priests, who demanded that he die. These atrocities were no doubt instigated by the priests, who had secret reasons for opposing the influence of even chance foreigners, the priestly caste being the most conservative of all, and able also to most quickly arouse the latent ferocity in the human heart.

Another of the Pelews had already died of disease and exposure. The Pelew that was killed was taken to a canoe and tied, and then set adrift on the ocean. Soon after, a sailor, Milton Hulett, a young man of twenty and still quite strong, was also turned adrift in the same manner, still alive. The theory of the natives seemed to be that these foreigners came from the sea, and to the

sea must return. However, the next day a great howling and uproar was heard, the whole island being excited. This, as was soon learned, was caused by the body of Milton being found on the shore of the lagoon, to which it had been drifted in the night, and this brought more fear and dread than if many live men had come. It was awfully unlucky for a dead man to come back to his murderers, and for a whole month the man who set him adrift was obliged to perform rites in the Tahboo house. This seems to indicate the superstitious origin of these horrors.

William Seddon, another sailor, died of disease on the shore, having become very low through privation. One after another, however, the rest were turned adrift alive, never to return, until but three remained. These were one Pelew, a sailor named Knute, and Holden.

THE TATTOOING.

Mr. Holden is yet tattooed in South Sea islander fashion over his entire chest and arms. This appears to be as distinct as after it was first done, and resembles the pattern of some sort of shirt or dress, or more probably some native design. Without expert inquiry the suggestion still arises that in the South Seas, where dress was unnecessary for comfort, the only use that occurred to the natives was as an ornament, or mark of distinction,—following out, I believe, a suggestion of Carlyle's in *Sartor Resartus*. For ornament or distinction tattooing on the skin would answer the same purpose as dress. Possibly, too, these patterns were from the dress of castaways or conquerors, whose clothes were worn out, and no new ones were to be had, and the design was preserved on the skin.

But whatever its origin, its intent at the time Mr.

Holden was there seemed to be simply to incorporate him into the community. This showed an increase of kindly feeling, and prospect of better treatment ; but the process was one of great pain. The instrument used was made from the bones of the great Man-o'-war hawk, being about an inch long, with teeth long enough to not only pierce the skin, but to reach even the bones. It is quite unlike the sailors' method, which is done with a fine needle, and the outer skin simply raised sufficiently to admit the ink under the cuticle. But this was on a truly barbarous plan. The man to be tattooed was laid flat on the ground, and the operator straddled his body, and with the instrument laid at the proper place made the incisions with the blow of a mallet. Often over the ribs, as Holden was thus operated upon, the teeth were driven into the bone and were pulled out only with some exertion. Under such treatment he could only hold his breath, waiting for the man to take a fresh supply of ink, to suspire. The process required three whole days, and the juices used to make the color, were so severe as to cause the flesh to puff into large swellings. It was the intention to tattoo his face also, but this he resisted, preferring to die, and threatening them with the vengeance of the white man's God.

Nevertheless, amid all these troubles, he did not wholly stagnate mentally, but took pains to learn the language, which he still retains, and to be able to form a correct vocabulary of their words. He still had a hope of escape, and felt the value to commerce, or more especially of any castaways like himself, of knowing more of these people and teaching them in some way the value of human life. He found that they held the white man's God in superstitious regard, seeing the ships, the firearms, and the iron given, as they supposed, to His favorites. More than once in a desperate situation he overawed them by threat-

ening to call upon this powerful being for vengeance. Moreover, he instilled, wherever possible, into their minds that the white men would gladly make a present for his release, and that he must be returned to them whenever a ship appeared. This promise his master grew to rely upon with utmost confidence.

A SENSE OF DELIVERANCE.

Two years had now passed upon the island of Tobey, amid horrors and cruelties, but also with some growing companionship with the natives.

A curious premonition of rescue from that prison island at length began to take possession of him. Whatever its source, whether from some outward or providential origin, or from his own imagination, the assurance grew more complete, and raised his hope. As this became firmer he began to think of his one mate left, the sailor, Knute; but of him he had now seen nothing for some time. This was a bad sign, as, although they were not allowed any intercourse, he had frequently seen the lad on the beach at a distance. His own hope had become so firm and his anxiety for Knute became so intense, fearing that he had been murdered, that at last one afternoon he determined to take all risks and hunt him up.

It happened that he was alone in the house, and, although not knowing how soon his master might return, he decided on the spur of the moment to go towards Knute's place. This he did, choosing the back trail, which led through the brush and shrubbery, and was some distance back from the usual road along the front. He walked rapidly, and soon came to a point where he could look into the main path. He saw no one, but nearing the crossways soon discovered a man, all but nude, crouching in a hopeless attitude on the ground. He was sitting

with his hands over his face, and his head sunk between his knees. Surmising who it was, Holden was soon alongside, and saw that it was in truth his shipmate. He quickly laid his hand on the drooping shoulder, and shook him gently, but with the intent of rousing him from the lethargy into which he saw the man had fallen. "Why are you here, Knute?" he asked. "What is the matter?" But to this inquiry there was no reply, yet a slight movement. The man looked up, but the look was as of death itself, hopeless and lifeless, of one soon to be a corpse. Even with his fresh sense of hope, Holden shuddered, but said cheerfully, "Come, come, Knute, let me take you to the house." "It's no use," answered his mate, with a groan; he cared only to die.

"You are not going to die yet," replied Holden; "I still have strength and you have a little. I will take hold of you, and when I say 'ready' you must get up." So taking hold he sung out in sailor fashion, "Ready, heoho; now she goes," and sure enough had him on his feet, and began hitching him along toward his home, helping himself by taking hold of the bushes at the pathside. But after a little Knute moaned, "Let me down," and suddenly collapsed and fell like lead. Holden could assist no more, but said, "Knute, you must not give up; keep up heart and hope, my man, just for my sake. What shall I do if I am left entirely alone on this savage island? Can't you bear up for me if not for yourself? Besides, we do not know how soon we may be rescued; we can not tell when we may go; it may be to-morrow."

With these words he left his comrade and returned as quickly as possible to his master's hut, and fortunately found that he had been seen by no one, the hut being still empty.

The natives seemed to have been occupied with cere-

monies at the tahboo house, and about nightfall the master returned alone, having left his wife at the woman's tahboo. However, he said, "We will sleep here," and both prepared for the night.

We can not help but linger here a moment in thought, considering an experience like this and the pathos of a hope without a reasonable or demonstrable foundation springing up in such a situation. The question also arises, will the results of the civilization brought to these seas and islands seem at last to recompense the losses and sufferings that lads like Holden and Knute and their more unfortunate mates, or the many unknown sailors of the Pacific, had to endure?

"SAWA, SAWA," A SHIP.

Next morning, just about daylight, he was aroused by the sound of loud voices singing out from the tops of the cocoanut trees, where the natives had gone early to gather toddy, "Sawa, sawa." His master heard the cry, and roused instantly and jumped up. Holden did not move, lying in a singular repose, feeling that his premonition was to be realized, and yet having no urging of his own effort. In a few minutes his master came back all excitement and hurried him down to the beach. "Look yonder," he said, "and see whether there is a ship." Holden scanned the horizon, but saw nothing. Whatever there was was below the horizon. He replied that he saw nothing yet, but told his master to climb a tree and he might discover it.

The natives readily climb the long shafts of the cocoanut trees by means of a hoop, into which they place their feet, on the side opposite their body, and hold themselves while taking a new hold with the arms. The master, whose name was Parabaway, was soon into his hoop, and

had ascended about thirty or forty feet when he stopped and sang out, "Sawa, sawa"—yes, it is a ship. He then came down speedily and laid his hand on Holden's shoulder and said, "Temit, I will set you on that ship." "You know my promise," Holden replied, "to the man who first places me on a white man's ship."

Parabaway was a man of activity, and one to redeem in some measure the character of his people. He therefore at once called to his men, who brought the sea canoe to the beach, carrying it across the bayou, and bringing the paddles and also Temit.

THE STRUGGLE TO THE SHIP.

The canoe was shoved into the water and the crew of paddlers took their places. Holden was duly placed aboard and took a position at the bow, ready to descry the first appearance of the ship, which lay becalmed, but below the horizon from their situation on the water. He constantly urged the men to paddle, crying "Vettell"—pull until you reach the ship. The canoe went boldly out over the deep ocean, riding the low swell, until after a time Holden caught sight of a white speck,—the gleam of a sail,—seeing which the men took heart and paddled away with a will, the ship rapidly growing on the sight, and Holden at last believing fully in his deliverance, and of his comrade, Knute's. The master, Parabaway, and his men were also indulging in lively anticipations of the treasure of iron to be given them. The ship was now within but a mile, and soon would be within hailing distance.

But suddenly, without warning, there came a white puff of smoke, and a six-pound cannon ball whistled over the heads of the canoemen and their passenger. This was something which Holden had not calculated upon,

and turned the ship, which but a moment before seemed the sign of salvation, into an object of new peril. Of course the natives were terrified and squatted in the canoe as another and still another cannon ball screamed over them in quick succession. Then they headed away, fully believing that the ship intended to destroy them. Holden immediately began tasking them to head to the ship, himself almost reckless of consequences, but not believing that any ship of any nation would fire upon a helpless canoe with intention of killing. They cried out with terror, however, and replied, "If we go to the ship we shall be killed." Holden determined that they must proceed and commanded them to pull. "Which way?" they again inquired. "To the ship; you shall not go home."

Finally he succeeded in calming them, and began singing out to the ship in a voice which he thought must carry across the water. On his positive promise that they should not be killed they resumed paddling, headed for the vessel. But not over five or six strokes had been taken before "biff" once more, and directly with the boom came a charge of copper ore, striking the water no great distance in front of the canoe, and splashing Holden himself, who stood in the prow. At this of course the natives broke into new terror, and what small head of courage that Holden had gained for them was now lost. All must be done over. They were about to retreat with all speed, but he checked them with all the intimidations of the white man's God. They would proceed no further, but by the greatest exertion of will and persuasion he prevented their return. While thus urging and struggling a flag was run up on the mizzen;—the English Jack,—the most beautiful of all signs just then, unless it had been the stars and stripes. Englishmen could surely be made to understand the situation.

A boat was now seen lowered from the ship, and, under a good stroke from the crew supplied from the vessel, came gliding over the water toward Holden's canoe. This boat came within about fifty yards, in full view, then stopped, the sailors resting on their oars. Not a word was spoken, but after a few moment's inspection, the oars were dropped again into the water and the stroke resumed, but the boat was headed back to the ship. Holden then cried out in his loudest tones, telling them who he was, and what he was wanting, but the boat pulled back to the vessel.

By such treatment as this, he was almost thrown into frenzy, and continued calling; and then commanded the natives to pull away to the vessel after the boat, but was met with a volley of small arms, at which the natives, of course, stopped rowing again. Holden had only to wait and see what would be done by the British vessel. After returning to the ship, the detail in the boat reported that they thought they heard English words spoken, and asked for further orders; and permission was then given by the captain, one Short, to return, but well armed. As soon as within hailing distance again, the officer of the boat standing in the stern sheets called to Holden, and said, "Swim here."

We can not but be astonished that when, within speaking distance, and easily able to ascertain who Holden was, and the disposition of the natives, that any such order should be given. But the captain and his crew were acting under very careful instructions, and following the English axiom, took everybody for an enemy or criminal until proved otherwise. Without waiting for further urging and, indeed, almost before the order was out of the officer's mouth, Holden sprang into the water and swam for his life toward the boat; leaping like a flash, and swimming under the water. In the meantime the

boat came slowly toward him, and as he rose to breathe, she was alongside, and two of the sailors reached over and lifted him in. But this was scarcely done, before one of them cried out "We have just saved him now!" and looking into the water, all were horrified to see the body of a man-eating shark, overlapping the boat in length, and already turned on its side to seize the prey. Of this peril Holden himself had not thought, as the boat's officer had also overlooked it; though both probably knew that those seas were full of these carnivores of the waters.

A BRITISH CAPTAIN.

The rescuing crew now bent to the oars and laid away to the ship, which was a three masted merchantman, and came along broadside. The manropes hanging over were scarcely reached before Holden laid hold of them and, without help or invitation, scrambled to the deck. He was at once surrounded by the sailors, to whom he was a subject for instant solicitude. Some brought him clothes out of their chests, into which he was speedily installed, while one came with a spoonful of boiled rice, his lank appearance indicating at once long want, if not starvation. The first officer began to question him, and every time he made an answer carried this back to report to the captain, who was pacing the after deck.

This was done with so much ceremony and deliberation that Holden, who was all anxiety to secure the rescue of his mate, Knute, and to redeem his promise to his master, Parabaway, became very impatient. But when a little breeze now began to blow, and the order came from the captain to brace up the yards, he could no longer control himself. It seemed incredible that a man should be left, or that no attention should be paid to his representations about the natives. Setting aside red tape

and taking matters into his own hands he went aft and met the captain as he came alongside on his walk. Addressing him by name, he said, "Captain Short, I am an American ; I have a shipmate who is undoubtedly in one of those canoes waiting to be taken aboard. I beg of you to do what you can for his rescue."

The captain simply looked him over, and up and down, without a word turned and walked back across the deck. Holden's Yankee spirit rose, and he waited until the captain faced his way again, and looked him over once more and said :

"You are an American?"

"Yes."

"You say you have a shipmate yonder?"

"Yes."

"If that is the case I will do what I can for him."

"You can do no more, sir," replied Holden, bowing.

Captain Short then called the men aft and explained in a few words the situation of Holden's mate, and said that those who wished to volunteer for his rescue might do so. A boat was soon manned and lowered away.

LAST SCENE WITH THE NATIVES.

This boat was already about to leave when Holden demanded to be allowed to accompany the rescuing party, and to be enabled to fulfill his promise to the natives, who had risked their lives literally at the cannon's mouth, to carry out their part of the agreement. The captain at first was disinclined to permit this, but finally consented, and ordered the cabin boy to go below and fill a basket with iron scraps, nails, or other refuse out of the locker, and bring it to the boat. It seemed difficult for Holden to work through his obtuse mind that this was not a mere bit of sentiment or whim, but that

it was entirely worth while to teach these islanders that ample reward would be given for shipwrecked men, inducing them thus to place a high value upon human life.

The burly captain was at last made willing to hold the ship for an hour or longer, while the ship's boat went out with Holden to the canoes of the islanders, who but that very morning held him as a slave, but now, seeing him coming from the ship with a boat load of sailors, and himself dressed in clothes that were to them of fabulous worth, were now ready to bow down and almost worship him.

While thus rowing out to meet them the thought came into Holden's mind to teach them a lesson. Calling to his old master, Parabaway, he selected and placed into his hands the finest and largest pieces of iron that he saw in the basket. Parabaway immediately began singing or chanting his praises, declaring what a good child Temit was ; or rather continued his laudation which he began as Temit appeared in the boat, and adding thanks for what this good child would give him. After this Holden called to Knute's master, and gave him a present nearly as good. Then he distributed to the others, dealing to each accordingly as their treatment of himself and his mates had been. Those to whom he gave but a small amount of the treasure of iron soon began to make loud complaints and beg for more. But he made them all be quiet until the distribution was over, then he spoke so that all could hear, and said, "I have now treated you as you treated me and my mates. Those that complain because I placed a small present in their hand must remember that they placed but a small bite of poi in my mouth when I was hungry."

These became very much concerned and said to him, "But we did not know that. Let Temit return with us and stay until another ship comes this way, and we will

place much poi in his mouth." But Holden said that he could not return to them; he must now go to his own home; but let them provide for any other sailors that were cast away among them from the sea.

Speaking of this eventful day, Mr. Holden says that it was the hardest of his life, requiring him to oppose, with all his determination, those in whose power he was, first the affrighted natives, and then a very dense and conservative British captain, who cared much more for the safety of his ship than for rescuing Yankee castaways (or perhaps runaways) or in teaching moral lessons.

But the day's work, as he designed it, and thought it ought to be accomplished, was done. He was rescued; his mate Knute was also saved, being found in the second canoe, following Parabaway's, though in an almost unconscious condition, and stowed away in the center of the canoe in the sort of box formed by seats and side planks. The promised treasure was given the natives for returning him to the ship, and the lesson taught that human life was of more value than old iron or nails in a castaway boat. Holden bade the islanders goodbye, who went off singing his praises, and he said "Nang England,"—I go to England.

RETURN TO AMERICA AND THE FATE OF THE OTHERS.

The breeze was now well up and the *Britannia*, Captain Short's vessel, set sail and squared away for China. After eighteen days reached Lateen, in the lower harbor below Nankeen, and there met an American, Captain McComber, who was anchored in the roadstead with a receiving ship to collect cargo for other vessels. By McComber, a Boston man, he was told Captain Sommes' excuse for leaving the nine Americans at Tobey; first, that he was on short allowance, and his crew was muti-

nous; and, second, that it would have detained him twenty-four hours—one hour would have been an ample allowance.

From the *Britannia* the two Americans were transferred to the *Morrison*, an American bark under command of Captain Lavender, of New York. The voyage to America was made without accident, and at New York, although Holden had no money, he was forwarded to Boston by the aid of friends, reaching his home city in 1835.

Here he wrote and published a narrative of his adventures, two copies only, so far as known, being now extant. He felt it his duty to see that the hostages on the island of Pelew were released, so he published a small edition of his book in order to obtain funds to visit Washington City and make the proper representations there. At the capital he visited the Secretary of the Navy, Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, and found upon examining the records that two and a half years previously the man-of-war *Vincennes* had been ordered, for a part of her three years' cruise in the Pacific, to visit Pelew, and also Tobey; and the news was just brought that this vessel was now at Norfolk, just returned. Two of the hostages, Medor and Davis, were brought home on the *Vincennes*, the other, a boy, having escaped. The Pelew chief was also returned to his island home from Tobey.

Mr. Holden was married in Boston, and in 1837, with his wife and infant son returned to the Pacific, making a home on the Hawaiian Islands, attempting the culture of silk, but later going into sugar raising. In 1844 he decided to come to Oregon, to help make this an American, rather than a British, country. He was very loyal to the stars and stripes, his wife being perhaps the first to make an American flag, which, for the Fourth of July celebra-

tion in 1847, he ran up on a pole in front of his house, and with Doctor Wilson, who came with his wife in an ox cart, and with John Minto, J. S. Smith, and other neighbors properly observed the day.

Mr. Holden's place was a few miles north of Salem, on the Willamette bottoms, but not next to the river. Here he raised apples, and for nearly fifty years followed the noble art of horticulture. He has three sons—Horace lives at Tillamook City, Eugene at Wardner, Idaho, and Theodore in New Jersey. His daughters are, deceased—Ellen died at Hilo, Hawaii, and Isabell at Petaluma, California. Mr. Holden lives at Salem, near the bank of the Willamette, and although ninety-one years of age is of sound memory, good voice, and hearing and but little impaired. He was first married in Boston to Mary Miller, who died at Honolulu, and a second time to Harriet J. Darling, who died at Salem in 1888, June 14.

(Corrected by Horace Holden.)

H. S. LYMAN.

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SHEEP HUSBANDRY IN OREGON.

THE PIONEER ERA OF DOMESTIC SHEEP HUSBANDRY.

The materials of history are not yet ripe enough to give us authentic data of the very first introduction of domesticated sheep into Oregon, and will not be perhaps until the historical gleaner is admitted to the records of the Hudson Bay Company, the rule of which was superseded over the valley of the Columbia River between 1840 and 1843, by the pioneer American home builders.

The earliest mention of sheep in Oregon is by John Ball, who came with N. J. Wyeth in 1832, and who became the first school-teacher by instruction of a dozen boys, sons of officers of the Hudson Bay Company. In the winter of 1832-33, in a letter to his parents, dated Vancouver, February 23, 1833, Mr. Ball says: "This is a post of the Hudson Bay Company, which extends its trade in furs from Canada to this place. Here they have extensive farming operations, raise wheat, corn, pease, potatoes, * * * and have cattle, sheep and hogs." In a letter to the writer, Dr. W. F. Tolmie mentions that

“by the use of sheep and rape the late Daniel Harvey was in the early 30’s producing better crops of wheat from the company’s farm on Mill Plain than I now (1880) see the American farmers getting.”

The next record of sheep in Oregon is in Bancroft’s *Oregon*, Vol. I, p. 338, quoting Wilkes for the fact of sheep being at the Wailatpu Mission in 1841, having been obtained from the Hawaiian Islands. On page 346 the same historian tells us the Nez Perces, in 1842, owned 32 neat cattle, 10 sheep and 40 hogs, and that the Cayuses had 70 head of cattle, mostly cows, and also a few “sheep earned by herding the flock belonging to the mission.”

This, doubtless, was the result of the Whitman mission policy of teaching the natives spinning and weaving, and we have good reason for believing Dr. Whitman was very anxious to have the United States add sheep to the medium of purchase of the native right to the soil, as one of the best agencies of civilization. The savage massacre, which destroyed this heroic man and all his plans, wiped out all connection between them and the American home builders, then confined to western Oregon, and we have no evidence that any sheep were in western Oregon, except at Vancouver, prior to the second cattle drive from California in 1842–43, when Jacob P. Lease, an American settler in California, yielding to the advice of Capt. Joseph Gale and his associates, started his flock of 900 head in the wake of Gale’s drive of 1,250 head of cattle and 600 head of horses and mules to sell to the Oregon settlers.

According to Hon. J. W. Nesmith, who spent the winter of 1843 with Captain Gale, there were 3,000 sheep in this drive, 2,000 of which we may reasonably believe were for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, formed by officers of the Hudson Bay Company as means of stocking the country from the Sound southward to the

north bank of the Columbia, which most of them hoped to fall to Great Britain on the settlement of the Oregon boundary question. Bancroft mentions 2,000 sheep being brought overland from California about this date by the Hudson Bay Company, indefinitely, but, as we know Dr. W. F. Tolmie was placed at Fort Nesqually about the time of their arrival, the supposition is reasonably probable that Wm. Glen Rae, the officer in charge of the Hudson Bay Company's station in California and son-in-law of Doctor McLoughlin, bought 2,000 or more sheep and furnished men to drive them in company with Mr. Lease, under Captain Gale's leadership, the result of which was to end cattle monopoly in Oregon, which the first cattle drive in 1836-37 can hardly be said to have done. There was good reason for this being done quietly by the gentlemen forming the Puget Sound Agricultural Association. That they were playing for empire was no secret, but they did not trumpet their plans and objects. Captain Gale's movement reached the Willamette settlement in seventy-five days from California, the sheep in the rear of the horses and cattle. The writer was informed by one of the drivers that "though they had but seven guns, they fought Indians nearly every day till they crossed Rogue River;" that "though they lost 200 [20?] head at the crossing of Klamath River, the increase on the way more than made up all losses and caused them to use from 4 to 8 pack horses to carry forward young lambs." The sheep were as low in quality as they could well be, light of body and bone, coarse and light of fleece, of all colors of white, black, ring-streaked and grizzled, having in an eminent degree the tenacity of life common to all scrub stock, and giving their increase at all seasons, though mostly in spring. They responded quickly to any cross for improvement, especially toward the Merino blood.

In 1844 the first sheep were brought across the plains from Missouri by Joshua Shaw and son. They were for meat on the way, should the need arise, and soon fell into the daily movement with the loose cattle, occasioning little trouble, but gave profit and consideration to the family after their arrival in Oregon.

In 1847 sheep husbandry in Oregon received very important accessions. A Mr. Fields brought a flock, which, as all-purpose sheep, have never yet been surpassed, if equaled, in Oregon. He, however, and his wife, were both stricken with measles as they arrived, and died without attaining domicile. His estate was administered upon by Daniel Waldo, who wisely sold the sheep in small lots, and they thus became the foundation of many flocks. A Mr. Headerick, William Turpin, and Johnson Mulkey each brought a flock. R. Patton also brought a large flock, settling in Yamhill County, and Mulkey in Benton, so that this important pastoral interest spread widely over the valley.

In 1848 Joseph Watt—who crossed the plains in 1844 and went back in 1846—returned to Oregon with his father's family, bringing 330 head of sheep, some of them Saxon and some of Spanish Merino blood;¹ and the machinery of a carding mill, this latter attracting even more attention than the sheep, which latter were now attracting less of public notice as this year began by calling many men to the fighting field against the Indians who had committed the Whitman massacre. This was followed soon by the discovery of gold in California, the rush to which and feverish labor and exposure there were more destructive to life than wars with the natives. It stopped home building development for a time, put

¹The Rev. M. Faekler, an Episcopalian minister, as a means of making himself useful, drove the combined flocks of 1847 most of the way. Mrs. Werner Breyman, now of Salem, drove the Watt flock in 1848.

sheep on the market at \$5.00 to \$6.00 per head, but soon began to take all that was fit for mutton for driving overland for food for the miners and others. This very soon took from Oregon many more and better sheep than had originally been received from California. The writer, who started with a small lot in 1849, sold his wethers to go to California in 1850 at \$5.00 per head, but readily sold ewe lambs to his neighbors in 1853 at \$12 per head, and refused an offer of \$15 per head for lambs by a California buyer. Production had been neglected by so many who had been to the mines and got a little gold that food of all kinds was for a time at almost panic prices—wheat \$6.00 per bushel at Salem; mutton sheep \$16 per head in Portland. This affected all business and called reflecting men back to the land. In 1851 Hiram Smith brought three thoroughbred Merino rams from Ohio, hoping to initiate a trade, but it was too early and he turned to the importation of mules instead.

In 1854 Dr. W. F. Tolmie began to sell off the sheep of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and after disposing of all he could north of the Columbia River brought 1,500 and sold them in Marion County. They were of the California importation of 1842, improved by such importations of British breeds as the doctor could induce the company, whose agent he was, to buy. Some good Leicesters and Southdowns and indifferent Merinos were used with great benefit, but the sheep had been low kept and were affected with scab, and for that reason were a bad bargain to all purchasers, as little was known of that disease in Oregon at that time.

In 1857 Martin Jesse, of Yamhill County, Oregon, returning from California gold mines, heard the call for a sheep sale from the deck of a ship at San Francisco. He found on inquiry that the stock were thoroughbred Merinos from the Camden Park flock of the Macarthur

Bros. of New South Wales, descended from the Kew flock of King George III of England, which were drawn from the Neggretti flocks of the Marchioness del Campo di Alange, by royal grant of the King of Spain, who only could permit exportation, for which courtesy the English King thanked the noble lady by a present of eight splendid English coach horses.² The start of Macarthur's Australian Merinos were those drawn from the English King's flock and imported into New South Wales in 1804 by Capt. John Macarthur, founder of the Camden Park flock and father of the firm of brothers who sold the sheep, herein mentioned, to J. H. Williams, United States Consul at Sydney, N. S. W., for shipment to California in March, 1857. The ship had been driven out of her course and both food and water for the sheep scarce. The latter had been given at last out of bottles and the sheep saved were saved by that means. Mr. Jesse purchased 20 head of them and transferred them to the ship he had engaged his passage to Portland on. Thus were brought the means of reproduction of the golden fleece to Oregon. They could not be watered on the ship, but by drinking out of a bottle until they were landed on the farm of Coffin & Thompson of Dayton, Oregon.

In 1858 R. C. Geer, of Marion County, had imported Southdowns direct from England. In 1860 Hon. Benjamin Stark, United States Senator for Oregon, sent a fine Cotswold to Oregon, and a little later John Cogswell, of Lane County, imported New Oxfordshire and Hampshire Downs. Early in this year Messrs. Jones & Rockwell imported and sold in Western Oregon 45 head

²The writer has verified copies of the certificates given by the Macarthur Bros. to Consul Williams, which, together with the history of the attainment of their progenitors, constitutes the only pedigree known to be extant tracing to a particular Spanish flock.

of thoroughbred Merinos, mostly of the Spanish type, so improved by Vermont breeders as to justify naming them *American Merinos*, which they at this time began to do. Flocks and herds had so accumulated in 1860 and the wild grasses had so given way, that without reserved pastures or other winter feed little beef or mutton could be found in good condition for market in early spring. The wool product, at first selling high, had declined for lack of a market, there being from 1853 to 1858 only one buyer in Portland for export, whose uniform price was ten cents per pound. It traded among farmers for stocking yarn and flock beds at twenty-five cents per pound, and some house manufacture began even before 1854 in the outside settlements. The writer went to San Francisco in 1856 dressed entirely in clothes of his wife's make from the fleece. Returning home in April he found Joseph Watt of Amity well advanced towards an organization of wool growing farmers for building a woolen factory at Salem.

From the pen of L. E. Pratt, who gave his assistance to securing the proper machinery and threw his personal fortune into the project by coming from Massachusetts to set it up, we have an excellent manuscript history of the inception, early struggles against high rates of interest, frontier and commercial conditions to success, change of ownership, bad management, business wreck and mysterious destruction by fire of this pioneer factory. For the writer's purpose it is sufficient to say here that it was a wool-growers' enterprise, started by Joseph Watt, one of the leading pioneer flock owners, joined by a few men looking to public life in the community, and "it was incorporated in 1856 with Hon. Geo. H. Williams as president; Alfred Stanton, vice president; Joseph Watt, W. H. Rector, Joseph Holman, E. M. Barnum, L. F. Grover,

directors; Joseph G. Wilson, secretary, and John D. Boone, treasurer."

On Mr. Watt (who was more a carpenter than farmer) was devolved the construction of the building and the supervision of construction of the canal from the Santiam River into the channel of Mill Creek, as an abundant and constant water power, which has since been used by other and important interests in Salem. It would be amazing, were it not a serious beginning of so important an enterprise, to learn that when W. H. Rector was sent East to order the machinery and secure a competent man to set it up his first order was for \$12,000 worth of machinery for which he had \$2,500 and his face to pay. It was reported of him at the time that in answer to the astonished looks of the manufacturers, when he told them the amount of cash he had with him, he said: "Look in my face, gentlemen. If you can not trust me when I say you shall have your pay, my trip is a failure." "Uncle Billy" got the machinery with the aid of his chosen manager, then with him. Mr. Rector's friend and neighbor, Daniel Waldo, a stock-raising farmer, proved the chief financial support of the enterprise while starting, maintaining his trust in it till being wrecked by mismanagement he proved the chief loser.

The year of 1860 may be said to end the pioneer period of the domestic stock interests of Oregon, especially of sheep husbandry. In addition to the imported improved sheep already mentioned, A. McKinley had retired from the Hudson Bay Company and brought with him as a settler in Marion County some of the latest imported South Downs and New Leicestershires of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

Visiting and examining the first Merinos brought to Salem by Messrs. Jones and Rockwell, I turned away unbelieving on the latter's answer to my question of weight

of annual fleece yield from these sheep to me small compared to the Field's stock I had been breeding for ten years with comparative success, so *I turned to history for light*, as to the value of the breed for wool production. By this means I was broadened out much as a man and very ready in November of the same year to entertain the offer of Joseph Holman to sell me at cost the undivided half of ten head of thoroughbred Merino sheep for \$512, consisting of one French Merino ram and one ewe of the same blood, 2 ewes of Spanish Merino type as improved by Vermont breeders, and 6 ewes, part of the descendants from the Macarthur's Australian Merinos, brought to Oregon by Martin Jesse as herein related. Messrs. J. L. Parrish and Joseph Holman were the first purchasers of ewes from both the Martin Jesse importation of Macarthur's Australian Merinos and of the Jones & Rockwell importation from Vermont. The following are copies of my agreement with Mr. Holman and of the certificates which came into my possession thereby. I interbred to American Merinos all the Australian ewes of the Holman and Parrish purchase for two years after coming into ownership of the certificates :

SALEM, Marion County, Oregon, Nov. 29, 1860.

Be it known to all men, that we, Joseph Holman and John Minto, have this day become joint owners of a lot of ten head of Merino sheep, consisting of one ram and nine ewes: and that we agree to remain joint owners of the same until November the 29th, 1864, under the following agreement, to wit: The sheep are to be left in the care of said John Minto, who, on his part, agrees to take care of the same according to his best skill and judgment, to keep a correct account of all sales made from said sheep or their increase, and pay to said Holman one half of the amount of such sales.

The said Joseph Holman on his part agrees to pay said Minto at the rate of \$10 per head per annum for keeping his half of said sheep and their increase after they are one year old; provided, that if said sheep shall yield more than twenty-five per cent profit, he shall pay said Minto at the rate of \$12 per head.

JOSEPH HOLMAN.
JOHN MINTO.

COPY OF A CERTIFICATE OF FINE WOOL SHEEP.

We hereby certify that the 250 thoroughbred Merino ewes, 28 thoroughbred Merino bucks, sold by us to J. H. Williams, Esq., Consul of the United States at Sydney, for shipment to California, were bred by us on this estate, being descendants in a direct line from the Merino sheep imported in 1804-5 by our father, the late John Macarthur, Esq., and by him selected from the Royal Kew flock, obtained from the Spanish Government by his majesty, the late King George III.

There has been no intermixture of any but undoubted Merino blood in the Camden Park flock. We have crossed only with rams of Merino race derived from the French Imperial flock of Rambouillet. Neither the sheep now sold by us nor the flock from which they are taken have ever had scab, catarrh, or any other infections.

A first-class medal was awarded to us for the wool of this flock exhibited at Paris Industrial Exhibition of all nations in 1855, in reference to which the following passage is extracted from a letter from Sir William Macarthur to James Macarthur, dated Paris, 12th August, 1855: "Of the samples exhibited of the wool of our thoroughbred Merino flock, taken from about 150 fleeces of the shearing of 1853, the jurors said in my presence that they were free from the defect often found in Australian wool of hollowness or spongeness of fibre, and combine in a remarkable degree all the most valuable qualities which distinguish German and Australian wools, preserving the true old Merino type in the greatest beauty."

The sheep are branded in the right cheek with the letter "M," which runs into a "U," the mark of our thoroughbred flock; they have also a pitch brand on the outside of the fleece upon the weathers of "J."

Signed:

JAS. W. MACARTHUR.

Camden Park, N. S. Wales, 28th April, 1857.

To certify that we have this day sold to J. H. Williams, Esq., consul at Sydney for the United States, six thoroughbred Merino rams, in addition to the [twenty?] eight included in our certificate of the 28th instant. The pedigree and other remarks in that certificate apply equally to the six rams now sold, which had been reserved for our own use, and are considered to be very choice animals.

Signed:

J. W. MACARTHUR.

Camden Park, N. S. Wales, 30th April, 1857.

SAN FRANCISCO, 29th July, 1857.

This is to certify that the above are the true copies of the original certificates.

J. W. MACONDREY.

DAYTON, Yamhill County, March 10th, 1860.

This is to certify that Messrs. J. L. Parrish and Joseph Holman, of Salem, have this day bought of us (8) eight thoroughbred Merino ewes, part and descendants of the original flock spoken of in the above certificates.

J. G. THOMPSON and
P. M. COFFIN,
Dayton, Oregon.

COPY.

We have this day sold to Messrs. J. L. Parrish and Joseph Holman :

1860.	
March 31—1 French buck, \$500_____	\$ 500 00
4 breeding ewes, \$275 each_____	1,100 00
2 ewes, young and not in lamb_____	100 00
	<hr/>
	\$1,700 00

Received payment in cash and notes.

J. R. JONES and
S. B. ROCKWELL.

This certifies that Messrs. Holman and Parrish of Salem, Oregon, have this day purchased of us one French buck, "Revenue," which was our first choice in all that lot of bucks, and also two French Merino ewes and four American Merino ewes.

These sheep are thoroughbred and raised in Addison County, Vt., and imported by us direct from Vermont to this state in January and February last.

The French Merinos are the largest fine-wooled sheep in the world. The American capable of producing the most wool from a given area of land. Both of these varieties are highly prized in Vermont, where sheep breeding is carried to greater perfection than in any other part of the world. While we readily grant that the Saxon sheep have wool of a little finer texture, yet we claim that our French and American Merinos shear annually more than double the quantity of the Saxons. The wool is unsurpassed in its felting properties and makes a cloth suited to the wants of nine tenths of the masses. A cross of the bucks with the common sheep of Oregon will, we believe, add about two pounds extra to the lambs and double the price of it in market.

R. J. JONES and
S. B. ROCKWELL.

THE ERA OF EXPANSION OF SHEEP HUSBANDRY FROM
THE CASCADES TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

In the autumn of 1861 Joseph Watt, R. P. Boise, and Lucien Heath associated themselves together in the enterprise of sending 4,500 head of sheep into the Yakima country, east of the Cascades. It was a world of rich grass, in the condition of sun-made hay. There was no provision for winter feed. Late in December a snowfall covered all of the Columbia Valley. The weather set in clear and cold and gave fourteen weeks continuous sleighing at Salem in Western Oregon. East and north all weather conditions were more severe, which made the season the most destructive to live stock known to the white race of men on this coast. This first sheep venture east of the Cascades was represented by 45 living skeletons in March, 1862. It crippled Mr. Watt financially, but did not shake his faith in the upper Columbia Valley as a grand pastoral region. Mr. Heath, who had been very sanguine of large and certain profits, said: "I will never own another sheep as an investment." Cattle and horses had been colonized from west to east of the Cascades, and these, also, were almost a total loss, except in the lake region of Southeastern Oregon. This longest snow-lay had been preceded by floods in Western Oregon, and some loss of sheep had occurred by drowning on the Willamette bottom lands. This unusual season had no apparent deterrent effect on the movement to Eastern Oregon and Washington. Horses, cattle, and sheep were taken without attempts to provide winter feed in the case of the two former, and generally very inadequate efforts in the latter. The ranges were wide and mixture of flocks on them was very rare. Herding as a business had to be learned by most Americans, and general man-

agement was also much a matter of experiment. Some owners sent to Scotland for shepherds and their collies; but to them the conditions were so new and wild—attempts to herd thousands in a band, where the herdsman had been trained to hundreds; he lived alone and did his own cooking, not seeing his owner more than once in two weeks, and sometimes not for the entire summer season; these imported herdsmen did not satisfy themselves nor their employers. The passage of the homestead law attracted the attention of squatters and others in Australia, and an immigration from there of practical sheep keepers set in, which was not entirely stopped by Australian lawmakers trying to better the land laws of the United States. These Australians took hold of the range situation much more readily than the Scotch, and some of them became, for a time at least, fairly successful flock masters; but were notably more harsh to their employees than Americans, and often themselves seemed to fall victims to the drink habit. In the end Americans made the best success, both as herders and flock masters. Not rarely a young man starting as herder ended as a wealthy sheep and land owning banker. Among these were sons of Oregon pioneer families and frontiersmen who had never handled sheep before. It seemed to make little difference where the man started from, or what his previous occupation or condition had been. The field was so inviting that men who proved to have no vocation for it entered it. Farms were sold or mortgaged west of the Cascade range, and the value lost in a few years in the range country, chiefly because of inadequate provision for winter feeding. In no case within the writer's knowledge was there failure where adequate winter feed was kept ready for a possible bad season. Thus it was that, though the range was strewn with business failures, development went on and

men succeeded where others failed. Choice sheep camps became the sites of towns and cities, and favorite lambing grounds became rich grain farms. Dufur, Antelope, Arlington, Condon, Fossil, Heppner, Maysville, Moro, Adams, and many other towns are illustrations of this. Arlington began as a public shearing corral, the wool being taken from the bank of the river by passing steamboats. The means of crossing the common sheep towards the merino was at first derived from the few pioneer breeders in Western Oregon. The common or coarse wooled sheep were mainly supplied from Western Oregon, though some were driven in by both sides of the Cascade range as a result of heat and drouth in California in 1864, whence starving flocks were driven from the parched plains to the mountains, and across them to Oregon, Nevada, Washington, Idaho, and Utah. In 1866 a countermovement of stock sheep took place, and some hundred thousand head were taken from Western Oregon to California to restock pastures in that state. The toll gate keeper in South Umpqua Canyon reported passage of 80,000 head southward that season, and considerable numbers were driven up the middle fork of the Willamette and across the lake region of Southeastern Oregon to Pit River Valley, and thence across the Sierra Nevada to the plains of California. During these years of the early 60's sheep pastures were curtailed in favor of wheat growing in Western Oregon, and this added to the rapidly increasing flocks east of the Cascades in Oregon by colonizing, whence they were spread northward, east, and southeast, into Washington, Montana, Idaho, and Utah, and later to the Dakotas and Wyoming as stock sheep; and to Lincoln, Neb., and on to Chicago as mutton sheep. Hundreds of thousands of Oregon bred sheep have been trailed through the driest and highest, least settled country, between Eastern Oregon and the corn

bearing lands of Nebraska. The mutton sheep trail in this direction kept as near as possible to the old Oregon trail over which the first sheep were driven west in 1844, until the close of the century, when local settlements and locally owned sheep and other stock, and especially locally owned watering places, so intervened that shipping by railroad had become the prevailing practice as most economical in 1892, and "trailing sheep" has fallen or is now falling into past methods.³ Up to 1890 stock sheep from Eastern Oregon were purchased and driven on foot to the ranges of Eastern Washington, Idaho, Montana, and mutton sheep reached Chicago *via* the feeding farms of Nebraska, Kansas, and Iowa; but by 1892 buyers for North and South Dakota generally preferred to ship by rail.

The history of the occupation and development of Dufur and Heppner will indicate the general growth of well-watered sheep camps to towns and cities, and centers of wheat growing. The Dufur family, after some years conducting a dairy farm near Portland, concluded to change to sheep husbandry in the early '70s. They purchased

³There is probably no fiercer tirade against range sheep husbandry in the English language than that of the committee of the National Academy of Science, asked for by Hon. Hoke Smith at the suggestion of the executive committee of the American Forestry Association, in order to secure the counsel of this learned body as to an administrative policy over the forest covered portion of the public domain as secretary of the interior. Sheep were "hoofed locusts, leaving desolation and ruin on the grass lands and destroying the forests," driven by "nomads and marauders." The epithets used are the *worn coin* of the half insane but charming Carlylian writer on mountains and forests, John Muir. Much bitterness, doubtless, was caused by sheep trailers as they passed through; sometimes it was in resentment for extortion for water and feed purchased. The laws of Spain under the rule of her grandee and clergy, who were the chief owners of the fine woolled flocks, provided by law wide roads for their migration; but this body of highly respected men, who it may be said are our only grandees, made no suggestions for the benefit of this important industrial interest. In many localities of our State the annual movement of sheep to and from the mountain ranges causes serious injury to the wheat farmer and homestead settler. This is at present tending to induce our best flock owners to purchase their summer ranges as near as possible to their winter homes, and is bringing into the public service as lawmakers practical men like Hons. J. N. Williamson and Thomas H. Tongue, Douglas Belts, and others.

from Joseph Beezley, a resident of The Dalles, about 1870, a homestead sheep ranch on a small mill stream there, called "Fifteen-Mile" (estimated that distance from The Dalles). They moved onto this farm and starting with a moderate flock began, by irrigation, to farm for the winter care of their sheep. Excepting a few acres under fence at Four-Mile and Eight-Mile, watering places, no fences existed between The Dalles and the Dufur farm at that date. They enlarged their crops as their flocks increased, and were the first to purchase swamp lands near the base of Mt. Hood for summer range for their flocks.⁴ From first a house of entertainment for settlers locating further south, and next a blacksmith shop, gristmill, and post office, the seeds of a rural town were planted and rapidly grew, until the lands around and beyond from The Dalles were occupied, first for grazing, then for wheat growing. Within about ten years a corporate town had grown, supported largely by stock-raising families, who builded for winter residence and winter school facilities. The district now produces about 1,000,000 bushels of wheat. Heppner was planted by a young unmarried Englishman, who brought capital to buy a flock of sheep and the small gristmill there, erected by a Frenchman; he took the cream of the beautiful grazing lands near and sold out to a grain-raising compatriot from North Britain, who made flour and mill feed his chief

⁴ They were also among the first to breed thoroughbred Merinos as range sheep for improvement of their own and neighbors' flocks, taking a colony of the writer's flock on shares about the date of Doctur Baldwin's locating at Hay Creek. This did not interfere with my taking my surplus bred in the Willamette Valley to districts further east and south. For twenty-five years after buyers ceased coming to me at Salem I did a moderate but very interesting business as sheep merchant on Lower John Day and its tributaries, Rock Creek and Thirty-Mile, and from Heppner to Prinesville, near which I also had a colony in the hands of Hon. J. N. Williamson, who, however, from the time he was as well known in Crook County as I knew him as a youth at Salem, has been called to public duties by his fellow-citizens in too many ways to make a successful sheep breeder. To me the business was an instructive pleasure.

staples. J. Graham Hewison, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, thus started with the best 3,000 ewes as a wool growing flock money could then buy in Eastern Oregon, and kept it to the highest standard natural conditions would permit, and sold out at a fair profit when the pressure of population claimed his location for food production. His example was good for his day, except that it drew into the surrounding country other young Britishers with capital sufficient to buy a flock of sheep, and who, caring for neither citizenship nor land ownership, flourished for a season as grazing freebooters, sometimes impudently gleaning the grass of the American homestead settler up to their fences under circumstances which justified the latter's resentment and resistance to the imminent danger of both the property and the persons of these grazing scavengers. Indeed, it is safe to say that during the years of expansion of sheep husbandry over the portion of Oregon west of the Blue Mountains, more lives have been taken and more property destroyed over range feuds, provoked by a marauding spirit, than by the racial wars with the natives; and even in the last disturbance of the latter kind in Oregon, most of the lives lost were believed to be in revenge for injuries received or fancied, by the Cayuse Indians in strife for grass in the Blue Mountains between the native owners of *hirsels* of ponies and herders of the flocks of the white men. More sheep herders were murdered on the pony ranges of the Cayuse tribe, under cover of the "Piute raid," than of all other classes of men, and no one acquainted with local conditions believed that the murder of Mr. Jewett (himself a highly respected man and a leading flock master) was entirely clear of his line of business.

In these contests the numbers and the apparent effects of the close feeding of sheep on the pasturage have often

arrayed against them and their owners, feelings of prejudice not justified by ultimate results, and added bitterness to these separate lines of pastoral industries until in some localities slaughter of sheep, and even murder of herders, occurred which could not be punished under legal forms at the time and place of the action, because unbiased juries could not be formed.

The writer speaks here from personal knowledge gathered from the herders in their camps just as the Piute raiders arrived near Pilot Rock. Knowing the defenseless condition of the Rock Creek settlers at the time the trouble with Joseph's band arose in the Wallowa country, I secured twenty stand of needle guns from Governor Chadwick, for the Rock Creek settlement, and took charge of six repeating rifles to forward to sons and friends of Wm. J. Herren at Heppner, and leaving Salem on the night of the Fourth of July, on which date General Howard's order appeared in *The Oregonian*, to the effect that the raiders would leave the Blue Mountains and cross the Columbia River between the mouth of the John Day and Walla Walla. Having sons and other kinsmen in that country, I got among the herders in the Blue Mountains on July 8, twenty miles southeast of Heppner, near Burton's sheep camp, where Frank Maddock arrested a party of Umatilla Indians, and was giving the aid of ammunition and the comfort of my company at the very time the soldiers were throwing shells from Pilot Rock into the position they supposed the Indians to occupy. I reached Heppner that day and found the citizens had a rude fort completed and were awaiting the arrival of Thomas Ayers, who had been sent to Umatilla Landing for arms, but he returned that day with the report of failure, as the community had received one hundred guns when Joseph's raid occurred. Next day at noon I met Messrs. Laing and Varney, heavily armed, on their way to learn the

fate of their herders and flocks on Butter Creek, from which point nothing had been heard at Heppner for some days.

CONFLICTS FOR RANGE.

Generally the cattle breeding interest preceded sheep keeping on the public lands of the range portion of the state, and opposed its extension,—*first*, because cattle, being more able and more willing to defend their young against wild animals, could be left free to range at will among others, the chief trouble with their management being to find the calf as soon as possible after birth and brand it with the mark of ownership; *second*, because, while left free to find fresh pasture, cattle would not stay on range soiled by the presence of sheep grazing; and, *third*, if they did, until the district was overstocked, the larger animals would perish first for lack of food, so that the invasion of sheep into a cattle range greatly increased the labor of caring for cattle and greatly added to risk of loss by a severe winter; and by thus being the cause of cattle scattering more and more over the wide range, increased the labor while diminishing the profits of ranging cattle over all of Eastern Oregon, except on the damp lands which margin the shallow lake beds of Southeastern Oregon, where the conditions of grass and water are much more favorable for cattle than for sheep. There were no rights in the question; each party was gathering where it had not strewn. To these, what may be called natural causes of bitterness against the expansion of sheep husbandry in Oregon in common with all the range states, may be added the fact that the care of horses, cattle, and sheep, acts diversely on human character. The tending to horses and cattle on the range is done on horseback. A few hundred head of them will scatter over hundreds of miles of country, intermixing

with the horses or herds of other owners. This brings owners and their employees to agree, upon set times, to co-operate in what are called "round-ups," that is, driving all stock of the same kind to a common center agreed upon, where each owner "cuts out" what he claims as his, and puts his brand on the young he finds for the first time. Of course there are large opportunities for mistakes, and for misappropriations, and with the most honest intentions contentions arise. The farther horses and cattle spread over a given range the greater the opportunity for theft, and as the very occupation tends to recklessness it becomes a school for crime, of which the horse ranging interest will show the greatest proportion for the number employed and the cattle interest the next most numerous. It is not claimed that sheep owners and their employees are immaculate, but the occupation of a herder is that of a protector. It is supposed, and is generally true, that a good shepherd has his flock within his sight every waking hour. In truth and justice, however, it must be said that it was cattle raisers who first acted on the perception that *the only way for any grazing interest to peaceful, progressive success is ownership or legal control of the land necessary to support the stock kept*. Some of those who have most conspicuously succeeded secured their ample holdings under the swamp and overflowed land law passed by the Oregon legislature subsequent to a similar law enacted in California, from which the Oregon law was copied, and it was the Glens and Frenches, who were really citizens of California, who were among the chief beneficiaries of the Oregon law.

The late John Devine grew very wealthy from cattle grazing in the Harney-Lake region, but he is understood to have been a citizen of Oregon and was a highly respected man. From the beginning of sheep keeping in Oregon as a range stock interest it was found well adapted to

associated capital, but beyond such associations as may be effected by the members of one family, or a few friends with families, such associations are not popular with the people of Oregon, nor consistent with the pioneer purpose of filling an unoccupied country with industrious family life. The latest census reports indicate strongly that the effect of the large land ownership titles secured in the lake districts of Southeastern Oregon, by doubtful methods and almost entirely used for cattle, are proving disastrous to the counties containing them and seriously affect the growth of the state.

The following is taken from the *Rural Northwest* for August 1, 1902:—

The fact that half a dozen powerful companies own nearly all the deeded and irrigated land in Harney County, is not only most disastrous to that county but seriously affects the growth of the state. The census shows that the area of irrigated land in Harney County increased from 26,289 in 1889, to 111,090 acres in 1899, but the number of irrigators decreased from 240 in 1889 to 228 in 1899. Harney County has the unfortunate distinction of being the only county in Oregon with fewer farmers in 1900 than in 1890. It is also unfortunate in showing that the total value of the crops of its 111,090 acres of irrigated land in 1899 was only \$232,423, or a little over \$2.00 per acre. Under ordinarily favorable conditions 40 acres of irrigated land, with outlying range, will support a prosperous farmer, but if there were even a farmer to every 80 acres of irrigated land in Harney County, the number of irrigation farmers would be six times as large as it is, and Harney County's population would be three or four times as numerous as at present.

Ten years ago the writer, examining the condition of sheep husbandry for the United States Department of Agriculture, wrote to the then representative of Harney County to learn if public sentiment would favor the proposition to sell the range lands to the people at ten cents per acre, or just enough to pay the national government the cost of attaining title, survey, record and issuing patent. The answer was in the negative; fear of the rich

land grabber and regard for the poor stockman's interests underlay the answer, but since then, increased confidence in the capacity of 40 acres of irrigated alfalfa land to produce hay sufficient to carry 3,000 head of the best grade of Merino sheep through an ordinary winter, there is no question but that the range portion of Oregon will soon have three times its present enumeration of families living in greater general comfort than was ever attainable when one herder took charge of 3,000 head during five months of summer ranging, not seeing his owner or camp supplier oftener than once in two weeks, and sometimes not once during the five months of May, June, July, August, and September. Every 40 acres, added to present alfalfa production, means an additional family home in the range portion of the state, and in some districts three or four, where, by fruit growing, 10 acres of irrigated ground will support a family, and an addition of 10 acres feed a family cow and a choice lot of 50 first-class Merino breeding sheep as means of sustaining range flocks up to the highest standard.

This last prediction may seem to some readers a chimaera of the brain, but the writer has his own practice in mind in keeping a flock of first-class Merinos within his home lot of less than 20 acres, 17 acres of which was in orchards, and he had no such resource for securing the best kind of feeding hay, as alfalfa land under irrigation gives. It is, I believe, the history of successful breeding of the first quality of domestic stock in any given line, that the highest results are attained under one directing mind. In 1892 the writer, in the service of the Bureau of Animal Industry, visited the breeding farm of Mr. Frank Bullard of Wheatland, Cal. He was and had been for some years confessedly in the lead of breeders of Merinos of Vermont type in California. His feed barn was in a 10-acre lot, containing at the time of my visit over

60 head of young rams, the most inferior looking one in the lot being a high-priced yearling recently received from Vermont. The alfalfa fed Pacific Coast bred sheep, averaged larger and had better fleeces than their Vermont progenitors, because the plains of California are under a better growing climate than that of Vermont, though that was not perfect, because of excessive heat at times during summer. This same season I had seen the choice ram flock of the Baldwin Sheep and Land Company, who were at the time drawing their means of improvement from Mr. Bullard; and again their stock appeared and I think were an improvement on his. Alfalfa was the basis feed in each case, but the Oregon bred sheep had the ideal sheep pastures on the slopes of the Blue Mountains to run on, and not a day in the year that was not stimulative to growth of flesh and wool fibre.

I may appear to be writing inconsistently in claiming superiority for this company, but the foundation was laid by the individual, Doctor Baldwin, in 1873. In March, 1882, he had not yet succeeded with alfalfa. His health was failing, but he had two strong assistants in the Van Houten Bros., who, knowing what was lacking, relieved the failing doctor by purchase and reorganized the business by taking in associates with capital and energy. J. P. Van Houten is still the one to select the fundamental elements of success. President C. M. Cartwright is a cautious and shrewd judge of men and things, and it seems he is ready to spend freely to secure the best wherever it may be found, in which policy he is ably supported by J. G. Edwards. Whether in France or Germany, among the breeders of Rambouillets in Ohio, among the leading American Delaine Merino breeders, or at the Oregon State Fair, where their excellent flock manager, E. H. Dean, had instruction to purchase any sheep, showing points excelling what he had in his care.

This was the order of J. G. Edwards, treasurer, and shows enterprise worthy of his company.

I have thus briefly touched the historical origin of what I am not alone in deeming the greatest Merino breeding station in the world at present. Fourteen thousand selected pure Merino ewes, giving opportunity to place annually to the service of flock owners 5,000 head of choice breeding sheep, and on the wool market 500,000 pounds of fine wool. The basic security for doing this is the annual harvest of 2,500 tons of alfalfa hay in addition to 30,000 acres of carefully selected land for pasture and hay production.

The representative of the American Sheep Breeders and Wool Growers, himself a Merino breeder in Ohio, was so impressed by the superior size of these Eastern Oregon bred sheep that he sent one back to Ohio as a specimen.

In addition to this leading Merino breeding plant there are at least four others in Eastern Oregon which would be deemed large in any other state or country. Allan & LaFollett of Prineville have an annual output of rams for the trade of 1,000 to 1,200. As many are now marketed from Antelope. From Heppner E. F. Day has 1,000 to 1,200, and A. Lindsay from 500 to 600 head. Charles Cunningham of Pendleton, who began breeding thoroughbred Merino in 1871, two years in advance of Doctor Baldwin, has, in addition to several large bands of stock sheep, over 8,000 thoroughbred ewes, and his sales of rams has for years past been upwards of 3,000 annually, a record he will surpass the present season. His stock is mainly of the Rambouillet and Delaine types of Merino. This makes Mr. Cunningham the *largest individual breeder* and a pioneer in the business in Eastern Oregon, and swells the total output to the trade to more than 12,000, which, by the aid of middlemen, who make a business of it, disseminates this means of

improvement from the east slopes of the Cascades to Central Kansas and from the Mexican line to that of Canada and beyond. The retail value of these 12,000 sheep ranges from five to twenty times the value of mutton and stock sheep.

On the uplands of the Willamette Valley high grade Merinos are the very best gleaners and assistance in grain farming; but the climate of Western Oregon will permit under lowland Scotch methods of farming,—the Down breeds of Middle Wools or the Lincolns, Cotswold or Leicesters of quality equal to the same breeds in Great Britain, and the general tendency is now towards those breeds. At the State Fair, closing as this is written, there were 157 Middle Wools, 113 Long Wools, and 70 head of Merinos, and 47 Angora goats entered for prizes. Ten exhibitors of English breeds and those of Merinos. The Merinos and the Angoras are the frontier settler's profitable aid, and British breeds, with rape, clover and vetches are the intense farmer's profits, or means to that end.

As stated in the first part of this paper, the writer in 1860 became half owner of nine pure merino ewes, six of which were pure Macarthur Australians. The first ewe lamb sold was to his neighbor, T. L. Davidson. In 1862 Mr. Davidson purchased two more ewe lambs and one from Donald McLeod of Vermont type. The three purchased from me were of the first cross of the Vermont type of Spanish Merino with the Australian. Mr. Davidson bred in the same direction, with the result that his flock classed as pure Spanish with finer wool than was then aimed for by Vermont breeders. He sent samples to the Centennial of 1876 and was awarded a first-class medal on the following report of the judges: "Some excellent samples of fine Merino wool from the State of

Oregon, *closely resembling Australian wools*; giving evidence that the state can produce very valuable wool."

This is upon the quality of Merino wool grown in Western Oregon, not more than 180 feet above sea level, eighteen years after the introduction into the Willamette Valley of 20 head of Macarthur's Australian Merinos. This may be a fitting point to record the opinion of two acknowledged experts, not citizens of Oregon, yet serving as judges at Oregon's State Fair, just closed. N. H. Gentry, a prominent cattle breeder of Sedalia, Mo., visited the fair and served as judge of beef cattle and swine. After praising the exhibits of both classes he said:—

I also saw some fine displays of sheep, and, judging by the remarkably healthy condition of the sheep I should say this must be a good country for sheep. The thrifty appearance of the wool and the good gloss it bore particularly attracted my attention.

Mr. Gentry is, besides being prominent as a stock breeder, a member of the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition Commission, and it is hoped he will revisit Oregon in 1905.

Prof. W. L. Carlyle, of the Chair of Animal Industry at the University of Wisconsin, was judge of dairy cattle, draft horses and sheep at the last Oregon State Fair. In answer to questions of a reporter for the *Oregonian*, he said:—

The sheep exhibit was a complete surprise to me in its high quality. I think that at none of the eastern state fairs will as good an exhibit of Cotswold sheep be found. The growth of wool was particularly fine, and demonstrated that this country, in so far as wool production is concerned, can not be excelled in the United States. Not a single poor sheep was shown, though there were four large exhibits. The Shropshire breed was well represented, but the animals were not of such uniformly high character as the Cotswolds. The development of the lambs in this class was noteworthy, as it was in all others. This seems to indicate that Oregon should prove a very formidable rival of

England in the future, and I can see no reason why eastern breeders should not get their exhibit stock from the Pacific Coast, instead of going to England for it.

With the long, hard winters which we have to contend with in the middle west, it is very difficult to grow lambs and young sheep to the greatest perfection in the first year, and for this reason exhibitors import their show stock from England. So soon as Oregon breeders take hold of the matter as they should, I believe they can challenge the world in the production of high-class sheep.

I do not know of a better flock of Dorset sheep on the continent than the flock of Mr. Scott of Menomone, and I think the best Shropshire lamb I have seen in years was exhibited by Mr. C. E. Ladd. I am taking some samples of wool from this flock to Wisconsin University for exhibition purposes in the classroom, as I have never found its equal in length of staple and strength of fiber.

This is in line with the prediction of Mr. Peale, the naturalist, who, as a member of Wilkes' Expedition, was in Oregon in 1842, and said :—

Oregon will be a fine sheep country, as for the health of sheep upland pastures are necessary, and your even, moderate climate, permitting the fur-bearing animals to carry their fine furs throughout the year, will do the same for the wool of sheep.

It also accords with results attained by leading breeders in both Western and Eastern Oregon. Dr. James Withycombe, now at the head of the Oregon Experiment Station, of English birth, has been a breeder of both Cotswold and Merino sheep, and believes with Professor Carlyle that Western Oregon can produce Cotswolds superior to England.

THE INFLUENCE OF SHEEP HUSBANDRY ON HUMAN CHARACTER.

There is another and still more important product of sheep husbandry than that breeding the best sheep. Independent manhood is doing much and enduring much as a pioneer of law order and thereby advancing the be-

ginnings of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, over the waste places of our yet young state. I have indicated how the first woolen mill was started on the Pacific side by the pioneer wool-growing farmers and may fittingly close this paper by summarizing the transactions of the last meeting of the Oregon Wool Growers' Association.

It met at Pendleton, Oregon, on the sixteenth of September, was welcomed by the mayor of the city, responded to by Hon. J. N. Williamson in behalf of the association. It passed a series of resolutions in behalf of farmers, ranchmen, cattlemen, and a number of other industries, particularly in the eastern part of the state, to the effect that the wool growers are receiving a benefit from the funds appropriated by the state for the purpose of paying a bounty on the destruction of coyotes and other predaceous animals far in excess of the amount paid out; declares a great reduction of these destructive animals under the law passed by the last legislature, and thanks that body therefor, predicting a rapid decrease in the expense to the state from now on if the law be continued, for which it prays, pledging its efforts to secure a similar law in adjoining states. It speaks for legislative appropriation of public money in assistance of the fair to be held in commemoration of the first exploration of the Pacific Northwest and pledges its assistance.⁵

It indorses the proposed national forest reserve on the Blue Mountains as having an undoubted tendency towards settling the untoward differences that now exist between those owning cattle on the one hand and sheep on the other, known as "the cattle and sheep war." It pledges

⁵This association at its annual meeting in 1901 declared its purpose to bring assassins of sheep on the range, whether by poison or the rifle, to legal punishment, and as members have more than ordinary means of indentifying a miscreant of this kind, it will be a long time before some of them are entirely safe.

its co-operation with the plans of the government in making rules for grazing such portions of forest reserves as can be grazed not only without injury, but as experience was proving while this body was in session, and voting from its limited funds, contribution in aid of sufferers by the death and destruction caused west of the Cascade range, mainly by brush fires of home builders. It sends its condolence and sympathy to these sufferers, condemns the manufacture of and sale of shoddy cloth for that of sound wool, and speaks for a railroad rate of twenty-five miles per hour from Oregon shipping points to the great markets of Chicago, Omaha, and Kansas City.⁶ Can the cattle interest show any such spirit?

⁶This body had at this meeting 119 members in good standing, owners of 325,000 sheep, not quite one tenth of the sheep of the state, but ably representing its entire interests in its particular field. The interest, however, from the writer's point of view is in a transition state away from the range system and towards a settled permanency on all lands in Eastern Oregon not reachable by irrigation.

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE WILLAMETTE WOOLEN FACTORY.

By L. E. PRATT.

About the year 1854 Mr. Joseph Watt, being at that time one of the largest sheep owners in the territory, and there being no market for the wool produced, Mr. Watt conceived the idea of manufacturing the wool into serviceable goods to supply the pioneers. He first attempted to organize a company and locate the factory in Yamhill County (then his place of residence), but, failing to get satisfactory encouragement, he came to Marion County and here met with better encouragement, and by perseverance succeeded in getting others interested and finally organized a joint stock company, which was duly incorporated by an act of the territorial legislature in 1856. He commenced operations by constructing a canal from the Santiam River, about one mile, to intersect with Mill Creek, (which was totally dry in the summer season,) which leads down through the prairie about 15 miles and intersects the Willamette at Salem, where the factory was located, furnishing abundant water power for the factory and for other extended improvements. Mr. Joseph Watt was the originator and also the father of the wool producing and wool manufacturing industry of Oregon. The following is the history of the first woolen factory on the Pacific Coast, by the manager from 1857 to 1863: Its unfavorable and almost unsuccessful commencement—Its final perfect success—Its changing ownership and by the mismanagement of the new company was burdened with debt and loss of credit—Again changed ownership and was soon thereafter *mysteriously* destroyed by fire.

THE HISTORY.

In the year 1856 the Willamette Woollen Manufacturing Company was organized and incorporated with Geo. H. Williams, president ; Alfred Stanton, vice president ; Joseph Watt, W. H. Rector, Joseph Holman, E. M. Barnum, L. F. Grover, directors ; Joseph D. Wilson, secretary, and John D. Boon, treasurer.

In the autumn of this year Mr. W. H. Rector was chosen to proceed to the East to procure the machinery and to employ a competent man to go to Oregon to put in operation the machinery and to superintend the manufactory when in operation. Upon arriving in the East he chanced to meet a woollen manufacturer to whom he stated his business. Finding him free and communicative he asked his advice as to the course to pursue, which he freely gave as follows : In the first place secure your man,—one who thoroughly understands every department and also capable of locating and drawing a plan of the building adapted to the machinery and water power, and finding such you will find all else easy. His adviser chanced to be my last employer, for whom I superintended for the last six years. He also recommended and advised him to secure my services if he could. I was also recommended by the machine builders in Massachusetts, with most of whom I was well acquainted. He came to see me and in about twelve hours I had engaged to him to go to Oregon. The first thing required was the plan of the building requisite for two sets of machinery, he giving me a verbal description of the location, fall of water, etc. The draft for a wood building completed was forwarded by mail in order to have the work on the building progressing. Then an itemized bill of the machinery and supplies was made out. This completed, I accompanied him to North An-

dover to Davis & Furber, woolen machinery builders, to procure the same. My surprise may be imagined upon hearing his proposition to Mr. Davis, having but \$2,500 to pay for \$12,000 worth of machinery and to get credit for the balance. Mr. Davis questioned Mr. Rector as to the respectability of the individual members of the company. Then calling me to one side the following conversation passed: "Have you engaged to this man to go to Oregon?" I answered, "I have." "Don't you think you are making a great mistake, as you will soon get into a good situation here at home?" I replied, "Business is very dull. We don't know how long it will last, and I have a desire to go West to see and know something of the country, and decided to take this opportunity to go to the *far West*." Davis said, "Then you will go?" "I will." Then said Davis, "I would not like to take the risk of furnishing the machinery on account of the distance and no one there that I know; but as you are going the machinery can go on the terms proposed, and I wish you success."

All necessary arrangements completed, I then made preparations to leave New England for Oregon, which occurred on the fifth of May, 1857, *via* the Isthmus, arriving in Salem June 7.

Soon after my arrival here the money to liquidate the Davis & Furber bill of machinery was loaned to the company by Mr. Daniel Waldo, about \$10,000, at 2 per cent per month, interest to be paid every six months or note renewed and interest added. In November ('57) the machinery arrived in Salem and the building was completed and ready to receive it.

At this time another loan was effected from Joseph Watt of about \$9,000, on same terms of that from Mr. Waldo. The freight on machinery and other expenses made this necessary. I immediately commenced to set

up and get in operation the machinery with two men to assist and learn to operate when set up. In the last week in December ('57) we had the machinery in good working order, and at the end of the first week in January ('58) were finished the first lot of fine white blankets, and in a few days after cloths and flannels were finished and ready for market.

About this time E. M. Barnum was appointed "general agent." In about one month after his appointment he resigned, discouraged with the unfavorable prospect of disposing of the goods and furnishing money and wool to keep the factory in operation.

A. S. Watt was then appointed his successor. About May 1 ('58) the stock of wool was nearly exhausted, the mill was stopped and all hands except myself went or started for Frazer River. About July 1 ('58) the men all returned and work was resumed. A. S. Watt not meeting with any better success than Mr. Barnum and for the same reason he resigned. A contract was then made with Joseph Watt to take all the goods manufactured, except what might be required to exchange for wool at the mill. He was to furnish money and wool sufficient to enable me to keep the mill in operation. After about two months, having been applied to a number of times for relief and failing to furnish any money and very little wool, and the employees being in debt to the market and stores in town and further credit being refused, a suspension of operations appeared certain in consequence. I then presented to the directors a statement of the situation of affairs, showing that it was impossible to continue longer without relief. A meeting of the company was called, which resulted in the abrogation of the contract with Joseph Watt with a stipulation in his favor and a decision as to the course to pursue.

I was then called into their meeting and the president related to me their decision, (the following appears in the margin : "Expecting to hear that they had decided to suspend operations,") which was : As a last effort to succeed in the enterprise the entire management was intrusted to myself with this remark : "There is the mill and the machinery, the wool and goods on hand. We put everything into your hands to do the best you can and abide the result." I replied that under the circumstances and in justice to myself I ought to decline to take the responsibility and the risk. The reasons : *First*, the company's notes are out for over \$20,000 at 2 per cent per month ; *second*, there is very little money in circulation in the country, business nearly all done by trade and exchange and long credit. Stores throughout the country well stocked with cheap eastern goods sent to this country during the panic of '56 and '57, and, as has been reported by the three successive agents, with the exception of a few blankets very little could be sold ; *third*, wages, the lowest to be obtained, at \$2.50 and \$3.00 per day. All the help, with myself, are in debt for our living and further credit declined, and some bills owing in San Francisco and Portland for oils, dyestuffs, etc. This is the present condition and situation. I am here and this is my occupation. In accepting your proposition upon myself rests the success or failure of this enterprise at this time in Oregon, but I accept and will make a most vigorous effort to succeed.

I at once informed the employees of the arrangement, asking them to continue on with the work to the best advantage, as we must consider we were then working for ourselves ; that there should always be goods on hand at the mill sufficient, if the worst came, to pay every man, and I was taking my chance with them. I also gave the merchants in town the same assurance, they agreeing to

extend our credit for a time. Having arranged everything as satisfactory as I could, I then turned my attention to introducing the goods, going the length and breadth of the valley to every responsible merchant, making an arrangement to exchange factory goods for wool, taking orders to be paid in wool. It was useless to propose to sell to them, but to exchange for wool suited them as well as myself. Almost without exception they readily agreed to that proposition. This was the first successful movement towards introducing the goods.

About the first of August I proposed to the secretary, J. G. Wilson, that there should be duebills issued by the company in value from 50 cents to \$10, to the amount at that time of \$1,000, to be issued to the employees to pay for their purchases in town, it being more convenient than giving orders and safer for the merchants than standing accounts with them. Seeing the advantage he recommended the plan to the directors and they consented to the plan, and the duebills, or as they were called "Factory Scrip," was issued and used as paper money. The advantage gained by this issue of factory scrip in different ways, and more particularly in introducing the goods, was almost incredible. In fact, for a time it was a current circulating medium. In about one year from the time it was first issued it accompanied the orders for goods from Victoria and the Sound to Roseburg, Oregon; and when greenbacks were first in circulation here, in most cases factory scrip was preferred. I then felt that the company was safe when the credit of the company was as good as that of the United States.

During the month of August ('59) I made arrangements with a firm in Portland dealing most entirely in groceries for the exchange of goods, which they did to quite an extent. Soon after, as the goods became known, a wholesale house made to me a more advantageous prop-

osition which was accepted ; the result was the opening of a store in connection with the factory, which was continued for some time and resulted in an increased demand for the factory goods.

In September ('59) I put up quite a large invoice of goods to be exhibited and sold at the California State Fair at Sacramento, which was successful, receiving from the fair a fine diploma on silk in a fine frame for first woolen goods manufactured on this coast. The goods were all sold at a fair price, Charles Crocker of San Francisco being the principal purchaser. From this introduction orders were received from California until the Mission mill in San Francisco was in operation in the following year. At about the same time I made a tour through the Sound country with samples. Succeeded in getting a number of orders ; though small, they answered well as an introduction of the goods, as it afterwards proved. Having made a thorough distribution of the goods and being satisfied what the result would be, turned my attention to the manufacture through the winter. More wool having arrived than expected as the result of the exchange plan, there being about 80,000 pounds more than could be consumed before the new clip, I sold it to a San Francisco firm at the rate of 20 per cent above cost. The proceeds from this sale and from a small contract for blankets for the Indian Department yielded an amount of money which enabled me to pay the indebtedness of the company in San Francisco and Portland for soap, oils, dyestuffs, etc., and procure for the winter a supply of the same. May 1,—quite a large supply of goods on hand ; wool had commenced to arrive ; soon found goods were being exchanged as fast as made ; commenced running a part of the machinery nights on the first of August ('60). Found that we had a surplus of about 25,000 pounds of wool, which was sold to a San Francisco firm

for 25 per cent above cost. The balance of the amount received for this wool, after reserving an amount sufficient for the purchase of supplies, along with \$5,000 borrowed at 1 per cent, paid off the Watt note and interest amounting to about \$11,000. May, 1861, found us better prepared to receive the wool, the store being well supplied with an assorted stock of goods and the factory goods found to be more serviceable and giving better satisfaction than the imported and the rapidly increasing confidence in the company relieved to a great extent the anxiety of myself and the company.

Again in August of this year ('61) I found that we would have a surplus of about 55,000 pounds of wool and run the machinery day and night. The directors not complying with my wish to ship it East it was sold to the same firm in San Francisco for about 30 per cent above cost. The proceeds paid all the indebtedness of the company, except the claim of Mr. Waldo, who preferred to let his remain by the interest being paid and at 10 per cent per annum instead of 2 per cent a month. This was thought advisable, as it was now evident that to increase the machinery to five sets might be advisable and this was being considered.

In the early spring of 1862 it was evident that the wool clip would be increased this year fully 100 per cent and we had it all secured and partly paid for, and our surplus would be about 100,000 pounds. Renewing *my urgent advice and insisting upon it*, the directors finally consented for me to ship this year's surplus East. I accordingly shipped 100,000 pounds to Boston—the first shipment of wool direct from Oregon to the East. About August 1, 1862, all the wool was taken from Salem. It reached Boston in February, 1863.

Immediately after shipping the wool I ordered three sets of machinery complete. Made a draft of the new

building to be erected and ordered lumber for the same. Employed a competent accountant, took an account of stock, made a balance sheet which showed at that time the assets of the company made the stock worth fully \$650 a share (in pencil: "the original not counting cost of Santiam water in the account"). The wool arriving in Boston in good condition and at a favorable time sold readily at a net gain of over 200 per cent. Including the proceeds in the estimate of the value of the stock it would exceed \$850 a share. It will be observed that in about four years the value of the stock increased from \$250 per share and over \$20,000 in debt, to over \$850 a share and no debt, making a net gain of over 400 per cent. (In pencil the figures 156 and 500 are placed over \$250 and 400 per cent respectively). This was accomplished with the disadvantages under which we were laboring as before mentioned at the commencement. I would challenge any other woolen factory on this coast to exhibit as favorable a showing under less difficulties.

L. F. Grover, being one of the shareholders of the company, upon hearing my report of the standing of the company associated with him Joseph Smith, W. K. Smith, and J. F. Miller, and in a quiet way commenced to procure the controlling interest in the stock, in which they succeeded by paying from \$2,000 to \$2,500 a share. A meeting of the company was called in January, 1863. I had about twelve shares at the time and was putting all my earnings in the stock. At this meeting James F. Miller claimed and voted a share of stock I had paid for two months previous and I held the certificate transferred to me by the original owner, but he did not allow me to represent it. This gave to those men the majority or control.

They voted to themselves all the offices of the company. Then, voting to each one an exorbitant salary,

the meeting adjourned. In about two weeks after this meeting the four, with J. F. Miller at their head, came to me at my desk and Miller in an authoritative and to me insulting manner said, "Pratt, we will run this thing now." I (being surprised) replied, "I suppose you have no further use for me?" Don't recollect of either of them making any reply to me, but waiting a few minutes and nothing being said or notice given me, I went home. In a few days Mr. Rector was sent to me by them with a proposition to return and take the agency of the company and set up the new machinery which had then arrived in Portland. I declined their proposition, and made them a proposition stating the terms on which I would return, which they in turn declined with a *threat* that, unless I acceded to their terms and came and set up the machinery, (which in fact was all they wanted of me,) they would make such representations that would reflect seriously upon my reputation and prevent me from getting another situation in Oregon. I replied, "That settles it. If those men will condescend to such contemptible business, they altogether have not money enough to employ me. Tell them they can go to —." Thus ended my connection with the Willamette Woolen Manufacturing Company.

[The lines of the following sentence are inclosed within braces: "The next year ('64) located, drew up plan of the Oregon City factory, procured the machinery and put the mill in operation."]

Upon leaving the factory company I sold my stock in the company, and also advised my friends, Daniel Waldo and W. H. Rector, to do the same, particularly advising Mr. Waldo to draw his money he had loaned the company, as I was sure he would then realize more for his stock and money than he ever would again. He declined to take my advice. The result was as I told him.

He withdrew from the company in 18— with about \$5,000 instead of \$25,000 if he had done as advised.

It was my intention, with the proceeds of the last sale of wool, to liquidate the indebtedness of the company, have regular monthly pay days for the employees, and, when it was necessary, to pay cash for wool; and by all means to retain this as the market for all the wool of this valley, as it then was and could have been for some time to come with proper management, but the "quartette" owning property in the vicinity of South Mill Creek, and aiming to make it more valuable, an extensive "flour mill" was erected with the proceeds of that wool, and, that not being sufficient, and finding that there was quite a large amount of factory goods distributed through the valley (intended to be exchanged for wool) an immediate demand for payment in money was made (a violation of my understanding and agreement), which would have been a great disappointment to the best patrons of the company. In consequence of which many of those who had engaged wool intending it for the factory sold to San Francisco buyers, who, finding the factory company was working under a different management and a different plan, sent men through the valley to purchase the wool, the result of which was that it checked the demand for factory goods and invited competition in the securing the wool to such an extent that the company found it difficult to secure sufficient for the factory.

In 18— Robert Kinney became one of the Willamette Woolen Manufacturing Company by purchasing one of the Smiths' eighteen shares of the stock. At about this time, or before, the Smiths, seeing where their superior mismanagement was taking them, in some way extricated themselves altogether from the company. I am not able to learn how or in what way, other than the unloading

the above eighteen shares onto Robert Kinney. The Smiths being out, the agency devolved on L. F. G. In 18— Robert Kinney discovered his mistake, and, thoroughly disgusted with the management, immediately set to work to extricate himself from the company, in which he finally succeeded in 1870 by taking the flour mill for his portion, paying therefor the eighteen shares of stock in the Willamette Woolen Manufacturing Company and \$7,500 coin.

It has been said that the Willamette Woolen Manufacturing Company was doing better under the management of Joseph Smith (my successor) than at any other time, which should have been the case I will admit for the following reasons: *First*, the company soon after his appointment to that position came into the possession of about \$60,000 cash, the proceeds of the wool I shipped East in 1862; *second*, it being the time during the war that the woolen goods were advancing from 10 to 20 per cent, and a ready market for all that could be made; *third*, the increased capacity of the factory to three times what it had been by the addition of the new machinery, just arrived from the East. With the benefit of the above advantages in his favor, most of which was accomplished and provided by his predecessor, why should he not have succeeded better? And if the company did succeed better, why did they soon after commence to borrow money from the Bank of British Columbia and from Ladd & Bush, and continue to borrow until finally the whole property was mortgaged to secure a debt of \$85,000? Add to this \$20,000 that was swindled out of Daniel Waldo, making over \$100,000. Then in 1875 it was deeded to W. C. Griswold in consideration of the sum of \$100.

“THE AMERICAN FUR TRADE IN THE FAR WEST.”

This work, by Capt. Hiram M. Chittenden of the United States Corps of Engineers, is a departure from the old methods in history. We have in the past been satisfied to know the main incidents in human progress and their results without inquiry into the personal motives and technical features of our founders and builders. If we ever learned more, it was through the researches of an occasional biographer, who in his admiration for, or condemnation of, an individual character, brought to light hitherto unknown, often unsuspected facts. Inspired by emulation a rival biographer gave an opposite view, and in the course of time the true history was dragged to light. Thus, in the passing of centuries, by adding to and taking from, we get what we are satisfied to believe is a correct general account of our beginnings and progress.

In the book before us readers are saved this tedious method of getting at an understanding of events in the first century of American occupation of the Pacific Northwest. To accomplish such a result Captain Chittenden has, of course, been compelled to avail himself of the work previously done by others. But he has so carefully collected his material, and so artistically brought it together, that it has in effect the realistic features of the cyclorama, and we see all the participants in the action, which continues to go on.

The history of Oregon, subsequent to the navigator period, began with the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Already there were fur traders in what was then the far west. For two thirds of a generation after that, all the vast territory between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, and also a border-land about the Great Lakes, and the headwaters of the Mississippi was every-man's land, where the French and the English hunted, and made war upon Americans, while the Indians made war upon each in turn.

After our war of 1812, which although brought on by an abuse of maritime rights by the English, was made the excuse by English fur traders for the abuse of American rights on land, the United States congress passed an "exclusion act" compelling the British traders to remove their posts to British territory. This they did as to their *posts*, but as to their hunting they still for several years continued to gather furs on American rivers and in American forests.

These unsettled conditions bred a class of men whose "double" will never again be seen on American soil, if anywhere on the globe. For brain and brawn, for courage and generalship, their leaders stand unrivaled. Their battlefields were scattered over the interior of America from the Missouri to the Columbia, and beyond, to the headwaters of the great Oregon River, even to the Umpqua, near the California boundary.

Unfortunately, the wars were not always with Indians, but quite as often between rival trading companies. Commerce has always been a relentless pioneer, as it is the most successful civilizer. Except for trade there would be "open doors" nowhere on the earth. It has always required blood to make fertile the soil of its most productive regions—the more productive, the more blood.

Beginning with a sketch of the condition of the Mississippi frontier, and the founding of St. Louis, Captain Chittenden gives us the story of the Astor enterprise,

following pretty closely Irving's narratives, which, however, he amplifies with proofs and opinions which establish its credibility as against certain authors of nearly an even date. He makes plain Astor's claim to be considered a genius of the highest order as a promoter, although sometimes failing from overzeal or overconfidence in his associates. Of his influence on the fate of Oregon, he says :

In exploiting his schemes of commercial conquest Mr. Astor was early led to entertain views regarding the expansion of American territory altogether in advance of those of our own statesmen. He believed not only in the desirability but the practicability of our taking possession of the whole Pacific coast from the Spanish to the Russian possessions, and he clearly saw in that distant region the germ of a mighty future empire. He took the only view which a man accustomed to look at things on a broad scale yet in a plain matter of fact way, could take, that it would be better for this territory to be in the possession of a single power than to be parceled out among several. There can be no doubt as to what power Mr. Astor thought that this should be. His project of commerce led him into relations with his government which, it seems, heartily applauded his views, but could lend him no other aid than tacit encouragement. It is ever to be lamented that President Madison did not see his way to adopt as bold a course in regard to Mr. Astor's enterprise as did his illustrious predecessor in office in regard to the purchase of Louisiana. Had he done so the political map of North America would not be what it is to day.

Captain Chittenden explains Astor's unfortunate connection with the Northwest Company of Montreal, which had declined to join him in his commercial schemes, and says that they "resolved to anticipate him in his own plans," and acknowledged that he erred in organizing his company largely from the Northwest Company's men. This was certainly, on either side, meant to be a counterplot. The Northwest Company preferred to undertake to beat Mr. Astor at his own game. Astor thought by taking into the Pacific Fur Company men from the Northwest Company to prevent such an achievement. But circumstances were all against him ; disasters by land

and sea, wars and rumors of wars, bloodless so far as the two companies were concerned, but decisive in their effect, joined to defeat him in his so nearly realized conquest of the trade of the world.

Although beaten at the time it can not be said that Mr. Astor failed to leave a great legacy to the United States. He secured a trade with the Russian establishments in the North which has played no insignificant part in American history for the last century. Beside the benefit derived from trade, Russia acted as an ally in the defense of the coast from other foreign powers. It is true that Great Britain enjoyed for over thirty years this legacy along with the possession of the Oregon territory on the Pacific, and obtained (from the Russians) privileges of trade in California; but in one respect English traders were crippled, in the Pacific seas, where the East India Company had a monopoly. They could not ship direct to their best market, China, but were forced to send their costly cargoes across the continent and across the Atlantic to be reshipped from London *via* the East Indian route. That this hardship, which kept open interior American routes worked a final benefit to the American trade, and the commerce of the West is true. It is true also that since the United States was not yet able, through its youth, and lack of means, to contend with any great power, it was fortunate that its joint occupancy was with the English nation rather than with a people of another tongue, and other ideas of civilization.

It was fortunate again that the orderly and strictly organized Hudson Bay Company finally absorbed the brave but wild Northwesters. Had the latter been in occupation at the period when American traders first ventured west of the Rocky Mountains, it might have fared worse with them. In criticizing Captain Chittenden, I should "stick a pin *there*." The Northwest leaders, while they

were trained athletes, often scholars, thoroughly versed in the tactics of their warlike business, entertaining socially, and hospitable, were rapacious and merciless in their dealings with rival traders. The story of the fur trade runs very differently after George Simpson became their head in America by the union of the two great English companies of Canada, and John McLoughlin took charge of affairs on the Columbia River in Oregon. The early prejudices of Oregon pioneers were chiefly an inheritance from their grandfathers, who had fought "Northwesters" and Indians of a previous generation on the Canada frontier, and finding some of that stock among the Columbia River traders were fain to fall to fighting them without much if any provocation. What would have become of the first missionaries and settlers had the British fur company with its stores of goods and its farm products not been found here? The fate of the overland expedition of Astor would have been theirs. It is true McLoughlin, who was practically the governor of Oregon, had been an officer of the Northwest Company, but he was one who on occasion could safely set at defiance his superiors in rank by shaming them into more civilized practices. The historian of Oregon should, I think, discriminate between the men who ousted Astor, and their successors, the Hudson Bay Company.

The losses and discouragements of Mr. Astor on the Pacific Slope were not permitted to interfere with his plans concerning the interior. Out of the wreck of several early trade organizations he created the Great American Fur Company, a part of whose history is the story told by Irving, Franchere, Cox, and others. The English-Canadian companies' system was one of forts. These they found necessary not only for the storage of their

goods and furs, but for protection in case of attack. Fort Union, on the Upper Missouri, erected in 1828, was the chief establishment, the capital it may be said, of the American company. There were many more at places favorable for trade on the Missouri and its branches.

Other fur companies competing with the American were kept away from the great rivers by the tribes in alliance with this company and were forced, or found it to their advantage, to adopt the wandering habits of the Indians, having only a general rendezvous from which parties were sent out in different directions for the season's hunt. Instead of permanent storehouses they resorted to caches, burying their furs until the annual caravan set out for Saint Louis. When the trade was at its height, about 1834, there were half a dozen organized companies in the field from the United States, besides many lone traders like Wyeth, Bonneville, Pilcher, Fontenelle, and others.

It does not require any great stretch of imagination to picture, rudely, what fur hunting life must have been in and about the Rocky Mountains from 1821 to 1840, when it had ceased as a great business, only the American company still occupying the field a few years longer. It does require, however, something more than imagination to picture it as it was. This, Captain Chittenden has successfully accomplished, and unveiling the greedy brood of fortune hunters in a lawless and comfortless country, has shown us how the Far West was despoiled of its natural riches, and depopulated of its wild men and wild animals. The loss of life in the business, in proportion to the number of men employed, was large; while the profits, on account of losses by Indian raids and robberies, as well as by the raids of the rival parties, were not so enormous as from the small prices paid for furs and small wages to trappers, might be expected. "Judged

by the volume of business, also," says Chittenden, "the fur trade was of relatively insignificant proportions; but its importance and historic interest depend upon other and quite different considerations."

The "other considerations," which included the one first mentioned—the saving of Oregon to the United States—were numerous, even after deducting the fortunes which were made by the few at the expense of the many. Allowing that there were, in the service of the American fur companies in the Oregon Territory during the twenty years of their existence, 2,000 men, which is probably a fair estimate, the results of their labors are remarkable. To their presence in the country, and the protection it afforded, the various sciences of geography, natural history (animal life), botany, ethnology, meteorology, geology, and mineralogy are greatly indebted. Government expeditions, fitted out though they may be with every possible instrument and apparatus, through the very perfection of their equipment fail to effect the discoveries which the lonely hunter and trapper made in his annual wanderings.

Exploring expeditions by the government in the Pacific Northwest began about the time the fur trade period closed, in the early '40s; but before that time there were books upon the physical sciences whose authors had traveled over the far West under the escort of the fur companies, being entertained at forts and made welcome at camp and rendezvous. There was hardly a stream or lake in the Rocky-mountain region, now comprising several great states, that had not been named, and to which some incident of history attached. A trapper (American) although he could not quote Shakespeare (as some of them could), was able to make a map of the region he roamed over which the reader of explorers' reports would be glad to possess to-day. During the period between

1843 and 1860, when mining began to be developed—the discoveries being made by old mountain men who still lingered on the borders of former hunting grounds—many of these unsung heroes had become settlers among immigrants of the coast region, and in this new life of members of orderly communities had proven themselves patriotic and law-abiding citizens. They were the “hearts of oak” on whose firm loyalty the young empire when in peril always depended.

I have not space without monopolizing too many pages of this magazine to express my conception of the country's debt to the hunters and trappers as well as to leaders in the fur companies. Such, I believe, is the sentiment under whose influence Captain Chittenden wrote his *History of the Fur Trade*; and for the faithful pen pictures he has given us of all sides of the subject he deserves our praises.

As a narrative the book is a storehouse of adventure and biography. Dates and descriptions of forts is another interesting feature, these “ancient” structures being among those first things which always seem of so much greater importance than any that follow. But it is in the men who built, occupied, and defended them that we find the chief interest. Their lives and their aims are a problem; but then, so are all lives.

Let me not omit to mention the part played in the history of the fur trade by that demoralizing fluid which, taking possession of a man's stomach, “steals away his brains.” A century ago the fathers of our republic, patterning after their British sires, thought no ill of a wine cellar or a sideboard with a variety of liquors upon it. Whether it was climate or science or the Indian question or experience—whatever it was—a change in sentiment was developed, and the bottle in the closet was considered more in the light of a questionable indulgence than a so-

cial necessity. This opinion invaded the Indian Department of the government, and the laws of the United States forbade the sale of liquor to Indians. It was also forbidden to manufacture whiskey in the Indian country.

This regulation of the department was alike for the good of the native man, who, when intoxicated, sold his furs for a fishhook, and for the welfare of the white trapper who did the same. It was intended also to save lives of both races. That was plain enough ; but that the sale or gift of liquor on the British side of our boundary should have the effect to ruin the rich and powerful American company on our side, was not at the first glance so apparent to every one. That was the danger that threatened the company, however, when the tribes near the line were drawn away from their allegiance to the Americans by the rum allowed them on the British side. Driven to despair, the agent at Fort Union erected a still, but being betrayed by an employee was compelled to resort to fiction of the most *yellow* complexion and finally to abandon his manufacture.

The other companies south of the Missouri who carried their goods in trains from the mouth of the Platte, and who had no headquarters, experienced the same, or even greater difficulties, having to outwit the keen-eyed agents at Fort Leavenworth, where their cargoes underwent inspection.

The companies' chiefs, while they honestly admitted and deplored the evil that liquor worked to white men and Indians, could not prevent traders from the British territory bringing it across the line, nor could they resist the temptation to use the stuff to get the better of a rival of their own nationality. Hence, the trapper went about his business with his alcohol bottle as regularly as the soldier with his canteen, to the horror and indignation of the missionary traveler in the mountains. In time the

British traders were instructed by the London board of management to stop the sale of liquor to Indians, and the practice was abolished. It is a curious fact, however, that the first successful application of a prohibitory liquor law was in the Indian country and among fur traders.

Captain Chittenden has given a very good catalogue of Indian tribal names, but I more than suspect that it would be impossible at this date to obtain from any source a perfectly correct notion of these family names or of their significance, least of all of their spelling and pronunciation. Observe the spelling of Lewis and Clark and the endless variations from their standard by subsequent travelers and writers. Observe, also, how frequently the Indians on the Clearwater River, in Idaho, are divided and subdivided, passing usually under the name of Nez Perces, but answering to Flathead, Sahapatin, and Chopunnish about equally well. The Snake or Shoshone tribe has also several names, one, that of Les Serpents, evidently French.

Let me close by mentioning in the American fur trade some of the most familiar names after Astor. Saint Louis being the starting point of trading expeditions furnished most of the leaders and partners, among whom were Choteau, Henry, Lisa, Pratt, Ashley, Fontenelle, Bent, St. Vrain, Sarpy, Smith, Sublette, Jackson, Campbell, Farnham, Fitzpatrick, Bridger, Pilcher, Carson, Walker, Williams, Tulloch, Vanderburg, with many others; and Wyeth and Bonneville. The work, which is in three volumes, with map and illustrations, is rich in biographies. As an introduction to, or an accompaniment of the history of the settlement of the Northwest, Captain Chittenden's book is invaluable.

FRANCES FULLER VICTOR.

Captain Chittenden was born October 25, 1858, in Weston, N. Y. He came of good stock, being descended from William Chittenden of Guilford, Conn., whose descendants have furnished many men to the official positions of their country.

After graduating from the high school of Weston, he taught for several terms to help himself through college; went from Cornell to West Point; graduated third in class of 1884, and was assigned to the engineer corps. For three years he served at Willett's Point, New York Harbor; three years at Omaha, Neb., in the Department of the Platte, and in charge of works on the Upper Missouri; two years in charge of government work in Yellowstone National Park; two years on government work at Louisville, Ky.; one year in charge of surveys for routes between Lake Erie and the Ohio River; three years secretary of the Missouri River Commission, and in charge of surveys for reservoirs in the arid regions. Since 1899 he has been in charge of works on the Upper Missouri, and in the Yellowstone National Park, writing a book upon the Park, its history and notable natural features; and also an exhaustive report upon the practicability of storage reservoirs in the arid regions; the Reservoir System of the Great Lakes; the relation of the government to the conservation of the waste flood of streams, and numerous articles on professional subjects in current periodicals.

During the war with Spain he served as chief engineer of the Fourth Army Corps. He designed and erected the Mowrey obelisk, at Sioux City, in memory of Sergt. Charles Floyd of the Lewis and Clark expedition; and is still engaged in government work in Yellowstone Park while pursuing his plans for furnishing water to the arid lands on both sides of the Rocky Mountains. Meanwhile, he is laying out some further historical work interesting to Oregon.

FRANCES FULLER VICTOR.

REMINISCENCES OF JAMES JORY.

The history of Oregon, as it is pursued more definitely and is traced to its sources and details, becomes a study of families quite as much as of localities or of tendencies. Without royalty or nobility or hereditary titles Americans have yet developed family traits and characteristics more strongly than other people, and no where is this more noticeable than in our own Oregon. A family name is already well recognized here as indicating a certain type of man. This may be due in part to the considerable proportion of Englishmen among the early pioneers, who brought with them not only strong racial, but also family characteristics. It is quite noticeable, too, that when once here the Englishmen became most sturdy and radical Americans. Among the well-known families of Oregon is that of the Jorys, who crossed the plains to Oregon in 1847. The family home is in Marion County, south of Salem, among the Red Hills, which have become famous as a prune-growing country.

James Jory, Sr., the founder of the Oregon family, and perhaps the first of the name to come to America, was a carpenter and mechanic of Cornwall, England, being a son of James Jory, gamekeeper and gardener on an English estate. He was married about 1812 to Mary Stevens in St. Clear Parish. There were two daughters and six sons reared in this family. The daughters were Mary and Elizabeth, and the sons John, James, Henry, Thomas, William, and H. S., all except the last born in England.

This English family, however, had various causes for dissatisfaction with conditions as they then existed in the mother country. For one, there was a parish law that children must be bound out to a master at the age of nine years. This gave great opportunity for men desiring laborers to secure such children as they might select, even from families preferring to rear their children at home. A native love of liberty very strong with the English made them restive for a country not hampered with petty restrictions, and where opportunity was equal to ambition. Such, of course, America was understood to be.

It is interesting to note in what way this family obtained the means to cross the ocean. This was done by a little shrewd management beyond the ordinary savings of days' work. "A large half acre" near the family home was rented at a low figure. This had been spoiled for ordinary use by the prospecting of tin miners, who had dug it into pits, and thrown the gravel over the soil. By much careful work, from year to year, however, the mud, or fine earth collected in the pits was thrown out, and the gravel was placed back. The larger boulders or rocks were used to construct a good stone building. In course of time the piece was restored to its original condition and fertility, with soil on top and gravel under-side, and was placed in good tilth as a garden patch. As the lease was at a low rate, and for a long time—"three lives,"—this became quite a valuable property, and upon sale realized enough to pay the passage across the Atlantic.

Passage was taken upon an old lumber ship coming to Saint Johns, New Brunswick. Water was declared short toward the close of the voyage, and the passengers were placed on allowance, but this was discovered to be a nautical fabrication, simply to avoid tapping the casks, or com-

partments, that carried the ballast which was fresh water. A home was made on land taken some forty miles up the Saint John River, where tracts of fifty acres were open to public entry, such a tract, and ten acres by purchase constituted, the farm. This was a region of young timber, in a country swept some time previously by a great fire, such as is periodical in all timbered countries.

After several years of farming poor soil it was decided to return to Saint John, and here work in the ship yards was undertaken. The father was a master mechanic, and the older boys, John and James, were able to give valuable assistance in running the whipsaw—getting out necessary birch, white pine, and spruce timbers for ships' knees and other particular work. It was learned here, however, that land was better and more abundant, and conditions were generally better in Upper Canada. It was decided therefore to use the earnings of the family to remove thither. Passage was taken to New York, with the intention of going thence by the Erie canal to their destination; but once on the soil of the United States this industrious family was not to be let off. At New York they were made acquainted with an old gentleman from Missouri, who described his state as in every way better country than Canada. It happened also that the boat on which they were to start to Upper Canada was delayed, and it was decided to go to Missouri instead. The route chosen was by water; going first to New Orleans by a sailing vessel, and from New Orleans to Saint Louis by steamboat—a side wheeler, named the *George Collier*. Saint Louis was still a frontier town, but the leading point in the West.

It was just before Christmas that the Jorys arrived, and they found work for the winter on the large farm, or plantation, of a leading citizen, Col. John O'Fallon. The father was employed in repairs on the buildings

and putting in a crop, while the four boys old enough for work built fences. There were negro slaves on the farm, but they were not severely taxed with work, and seemed happy and contented, and liked their master. However, James Jory, Sr., did not like the slave system, and James, the son, recalls with what a shock he reflected that the negro who came to convey their baggage from the city to the farm was the property of a master, the same as the oxen which he drove.

It was partly for this reason that it was decided to move over into Illinois, across the Mississippi River, into Pike County, of that state, where the land was also found to be good, and an abundance was still open for settlement. Land was very cheap, being obtained by sale of tax titles, or use of soldiers' or other warrants. The Jorys bought of the government 40 acres of the richest of land, partly prairie and partly timbered. This was in the fall of 1837.

Here they remained nearly ten years, James Jory, Jr., buying the place of his father, who removed to a farm in Brown County, some 40 miles away.

On March 12, 1846, James Jory, Jr., was married to Sarah Budd, daughter of Aaron and Phoebe Ogden Budd. This lady, who has shared equally with her husband in the work and privations experienced in building up a commonwealth on the Pacific Coast, belonged to an old American family, her grandfather Budd having been a soldier in the War of Independence, and her father a resident of Dutchess County, New York, until removing to Illinois at an early date. On the side of her mother, who was Phoebe Ogden, she was also of revolutionary stock ; so that the Jory family in Oregon embraces both the strains of the independent working class of west England and the original American of the Atlantic States.

James Jory, who was thus married at the age of 26, had a place of his own in one of the most productive sections of Illinois, and was in good prospect of acquiring a substantial competence; but he could not but mark the sad results of the malaria prevalent in the country upon the breaking of the prairies. He noticed that the universal fever and ague proved particularly debilitating to young married women, who easily fell victims to other disorders after being weakened by this malady; and like a thoughtful husband began to consider removal to a more healthful country. The matter was talked over first with his wife and afterward with his father and brothers, and as a consequence it was decided to sell out and go to Oregon the next spring.

Mr. Jory with his young wife prepared to start from their own place and join the rest of the family at Independence, Mo. Being a practical mechanic, he made it his first concern to have a suitable wagon. For \$50 he purchased the running gear of a vehicle that had been made out of green timber, and had shrunk so as to be considered unserviceable; but this he saw was just the thing, as it could be tightened all around and would best endure a trip across the drouth-stricken plains. For this he constructed a box, which should serve all purposes of living as well as of travel, or might be used as a flatboat in case of necessity. Around the sides and through a partition three or four feet from the front end augur holes were bored, and a piece above the end gate at the rear was likewise perforated, and through these a bed cord was run in the old fashion, and thus was constructed a comfortable spring bed. Underneath there was space for provisions, tools and other necessary traveling articles. Substantial bows were fitted above and a cover of double thickness of canvas was drawn over this. Double canvas proved much more comfort-

able than the single canvas painted, of which some covers were made. The provisions consisted of seven sacks of flour, and an abundance of bacon, which was made from a phenomenally fat corn-fed porker; also dried pease, beans and fruit; gunpowder and garden seeds were prudently added. Much valuable information in regard to Oregon was obtained from letters of Rev. E. E. Parrish, who came to Oregon in 1844, and writing East gave very favorable descriptions of the mild and healthful climate and the advantages of stock raising, where cattle might browse or pasture twelve months of the year.

At Independence Mr. Jory did not find his father, or brothers as anticipated, but with his younger brother, who was with him from the first, drove on to the Kaw River. At this point about eighty or one hundred wagons had collected and were waiting to form a regular organization. It was soon learned that these were too many for one company, and two were therefore formed. Of the part to which Mr. Jory belonged Joseph Magone was elected captain. Magone was from New York, an unmarried man, young, handsome, and deservedly popular. He had hired his passage with the train, and was out for an adventure, but when it was represented that he was the best man for captain, being free-handed and well-informed, he set aside personal considerations and accepted. He proved to be one of the best emigrant captains ever on the Plains, alert, cheerful, watchful of the needs of every one, and promising all that he would see the last one through safely to the banks of the Willamette, and he most bravely redeemed his promise. Indeed, nothing now seems to Mr. and Mrs. Jory more noteworthy of that whole trip across the continent than the value and delight of association and practical brotherhood. Except

for this the journey could never have been made by families, or Oregon occupied with an American population.

It was customary, says Mr. Jory, to elect a captain by "standing up on sides," and being then counted off, aiming to be fair and democratic, and give every one a chance to show his preference, as so interestingly described in the file of the *New Orleans Picayune* found by Doctor Wilson. In the case of Joseph Magone there was no need of this; it was all one side for him. Magone was married after reaching Oregon to a Miss Tomlinson that he met on the Plains; and long afterwards, indeed after the railroad was built, illustrated his original love of adventure by walking back East for a visit.

One of his memorable pleasantries occurred at the time the first buffalo was killed on the Plains. This was a fine young heifer and was shot by Magone. He came back to camp and invited the men to go out and each take a piece. There was a little hesitation, no one wishing to show greed where all were so anxious. "Come, come," said Magone, "don't be bashful; the best-looking man start first." But this started no one; "Well, then," he said, "the man with the best-looking wife come first;" and there was a general rush. That first buffalo was considered the best meat tasted on the trip. This party did not see many of the buffalo herds, being too early, as the animals had gone north. The later emigrants of that season, however, described them as occurring "in clouds" upon the prairie.

It was considered something of a joke on Magone, being a bachelor, that no less than five times he was obliged to give the order to halt the train a day on account of the birth of a child. These were in the families of Mr. Watts, Nelson, one of the Knights, and of Mr. Jory. This latter was the oldest child, a daughter, who was born on Burnt River. There was no regular

medical attendance, but with such care as the women of the train could render each other there was no difficulty.

As the train proceeded westward, as in the case of all, it was broken up into several smaller companies of eight or ten wagons each, those wishing to travel at about the same rate of speed naturally going together, and the danger of Indians being considered small as they reached the Pacific Slope. It was understood that the Nez Perces and their allies were friendly to the whites, as was indeed the case, and but for the friendship of these truly rare native Americans the scattered and weakened bands of immigrants might easily have been cut off. It must be remembered that there was not a United States soldier stationed in Oregon until 1848. Even through the Cayuse troubles and the later Indian wars the Nez Perces have been unvarying friends of the whites.

As to Indians, Captain Magone's company had very little to do. Some of the Kaws appeared early on the journey, and were great beggars. One of them was given by Mrs. Jory what she considered a generous piece of light bread, as he claimed that he was desperately hungry. But no sooner was this offered than he opened his blankets, showing a much larger piece of biscuits, which he intended as an object lesson of the size and kind of bread he wanted. On another occasion, somewhere in the Blue Mountains, an Indian felt a curiosity to examine the interior of the Nelson wagon, where there was a young baby. By the irate Nelson, who resented the indecorum, the young brave was severely lashed with the oxwhip, much to his discomfiture, but to the great amusement of the assembled Indians and immigrants. Such punishment is regarded by the Indians as a great joke; but killing an Indian is, or was, a very serious matter.

The thievish, but still good-natured side of the Indian disposition is well illustrated by the following incident

related by Mr. Jory : Before making a long drive over dry country to Green River, the immigrants found it necessary to lay in a supply of water. While busy filling his water keg he noticed two Indians standing close together by his wagon, evidently engaged in some small mischief. Slyly watching them he went on filling his keg until he thought it time to interfere. Going up to them he found that the Indian furthest from him, and partly concealed by the other, had removed from the wagon bed a screw which held the wagon cover down in one place. Pointing to the empty screw hole Mr. Jory demanded the return of the stolen article. It was promptly presented in the Indian's open palm. Mr. Jory then ordered by signs that he should turn the screw back into the proper place. This the Indian tried to do, but, using his butcher knife awkwardly, was making but sorry headway, but readily lent Mr. Jory the knife and received it meekly when the screw was properly restored. The crestfallen culprit was compelled to endure the humiliation of a very hearty horselaugh from his equally virtuous companion. Thus theft was not condemned, but a bungling and unsuccessful attempt at stealing was the object of extravagant ridicule.

Another incident of somewhat similar import came to Mr. Jory's notice at Fort Laramie, on the South Platte. The train was making a short stay for repairs. Sioux Indians in considerable numbers, with their ponies and half wolf dogs, were gathered about the fort. While one of the emigrants was greasing his wagon, watched by a number of Indians, the wagon hammer suddenly disappeared. An Indian was seen walking quickly away with his blanket drawn tightly about him. When about 50 yards off he was brought to a halt by a peremptory order from the owner, "Bring back that wagon hammer!" Turning about the Indian denied the theft

and opened and shook out his blanket in proof of his innocence, and then hurried on. The owner, only half convinced, went to the place where the Indian stood, and found the hammer on the ground.

The following shows one of the practical difficulties of company travel, and an intelligent solution reached by the emigrants. When Captain Magone's train reached Scott's Bluff, it was found that the rate of travel was too slow. The chief cause of the trouble was that some of the company who were bringing with them a considerable number of cattle, were careless, or had committed their stock to irresponsible herders, and allowed them to stray too far from camp, or to fall out by the way, as many of them, being footsore, were much inclined to do; and so it happened that each morning when the time to start came, much valuable time had to be wasted in hunting the missing stock.

The captain's scheme for finding a remedy well illustrated his wisdom and resourcefulness. Calling the company together and laying the gravity of the situation before them, he invited each man who had a plan to step out of line and state his plan to the company; and all who approved the plan proposed were to come forward and stand with its author until counted—a majority vote being necessary to adopt any plan. When several plans had been successively rejected, Mr. Jory, who had the reputation of being the quietest man in the company, came forward and proposed a plan which met with hearty approval. The plan embraced the following provisions: *First*, each owner of stock must carefully count his animals in the evening on reaching camp before turning them out to graze; *second*, he must bring into camp and count them again early each morning; *third*, if any cattle proved missing in the morning that were known to have been present on the previous even-

ing, the company was bound to make diligent search for them before moving on; but if any of those found missing in the morning were not known to have been present the previous evening the company should not be delayed to search for them. Thus the loss of time consequent upon searching at one camping place for stock that might have been missed for several days would be avoided. After a little friction, which spent its force in two or three days, the plan was found to work admirably; and Mr. Jory, now nearly 82 years old, recalls with just pride the success of his first and only public address. This incident shows also the strong hold which the principle of majority rule had taken on the minds of early pioneers, and its entire competency to deal with questions far more difficult than those encountering military enterprises.

Although having heard of the friendliness of the Cayuses, Mr. Jory saw things on the Umatilla and met treatment that led him to distrust them. Among others there was a Catholic priest that crossed the Blue Mountains with his train. He was met on the Umatilla by the Cayuses, one of whom made a long speech. Of course this was not understood by Jory, except that the name of Whitman was repeated a number of times, and each time the Cayuse would take hold of the large crucifix that hung from the priest's belt and make the motion of wringing it in pieces and throwing it down, and showing great rage. This Mr. Jory understood as a description of what the Cayuse considered the disposition of Whitman toward the Catholic religion.

However, as he heard that his father and brothers were on the way, being so informed by three young men that were hastening forward and overtook him, he decided to camp on the Umatilla and wait for them.

While camping here he found one morning that his

oxen were missing. But looking in the distance he saw them down on the bottoms, and hastened to get them; but saw that an Indian was driving them. He quickly asked, "Are you stealing my cattle?" "Heap water," replied the Cayuse, meaning that he was simply driving them to water, and also at once demanded a shirt as pay for his service. Jory at once refused pay, as he could himself water his cattle; and pointed out, too, that one was missing. "No one ox," the Indian maintained, but allowed Mr. Jory to drive the cattle to camp. After some further search and before camp was reached the missing "one ox" was found. But next day the same Indian reappeared and demanded a shirt. Jory again refused, and the Indian became very threatening, declaring, by signs, that he would kill him. After some further parley, Jory tried to settle the trouble by offering him some powder, about half the quantity in his powderhorn, but the Indian spurned the offer. Mr. Jory then emptied the horn for him, by carefully turning it up and shaking out all the powder. The Indian was then well pleased, and left doubtless thinking that no powder was left for defense. From all this Mr. Jory concluded that the Cayuses were troublesome and treacherous, and would have been glad to be out of their country, but felt the necessity of remaining until his father and brothers arrived, as he had some of their cattle, and had, according to their instructions, sold them, and thought it not improbable that they would need the proceeds in order to reach Willamette Valley. As soon, therefore, as the Indian was gone he refilled his powderhorn from a keg concealed in the wagon, and saw to it that his rifle was loaded and in prime order.

As for others on the road that year, Mr. Jory particularly recalls Seth Luelling, who passed and repassed many times, with his little nursery of grafted fruit trees.

On the Umatilla Mr. Jory also met with Doctor Whitman. He remembers him as a plain man of medium size and direct manner and speech. The Doctor had been with a party of immigrants showing them a route to The Dalles by the John Day, keeping along the foothills rather than taking the old route through the heavy sands along the Columbia. He also gave Mr. Jory the directions, telling him that without very heavy grades this hill route would afford them abundant water and good grass, as well as avoiding the sands.

The Jorys, the remainder of the family having now come up, and meeting James Jory and his family at the Umatilla, came by this route to The Dalles. At this point they built flatboats, preferring to come down the Columbia rather than attempt the snow-covered route over the Cascades. About forty boats were built at The Dalles that year, from the pine trees along the shore of the Columbia.

At The Dalles Captain Magone still stayed by his party, to see that the last one got through. He had, indeed, made all the young men promise that they would stay by the families until all were at their journey's end. There were some, however, that never came through. A family named Wilcox contracted the measles early on the way, and owing to exposure in looking after cattle in the rain, the entire family, except two girls and a little boy, died. A family named Rydenhour also, with the exception of one boy, died of the same. Measles were general that year on the Plains, and, as is well known, were the occasion of the outbreak against Whitman that occurred late in the autumn, the Cayuses contracting the disease from the immigrants, and becoming terrorized at a plague which they could not control.

A man by the name of Koontz was drowned on the Snake River. He was crossing cattle at the ferry, and

seeing one with crumpled horns caught on the cable went out to unloose the animal. He was a jovial man, and to his wife who cautioned him to be careful, he made the laughing rejoinder, "If I was born to be drowned I won't be hanged, and if born to be hanged, I'll never be drowned." Reaching the place where the ox was entangled he jumped from the boat, swimming towards the animal, but miscalculating the current was carried below, and was caught in a whirlpool and went down. Persons from the Mississippi Valley were very much deceived in the waters of the Columbia or Snake, which are very much lighter [clearer] than those to which they are accustomed, and also colder, and with stronger currents and more dangerous eddies. Magone himself was nearly drawn down into a whirlpool of the Snake, and only was saved by resting for a time on the edge until he recovered strength to break away.

The widow of Koontz was made a special care by Magone, who brought her chest of goods himself in a boat from The Dalles to the cascades, and with Mr. Jory carried it over the portage at the cascades, slung on a pole between the two.

The Jorys all reached Oregon in safety, and coming into the Willamette Valley looked about for a home. They were struck with the attractive little settlement at Salem, and the advantages of church and school. The choice lay between this and the yet unoccupied prairies of the Santiam, and above Albany. There the land seemed better, but the other attractions, and the fact also that in the hills near Salem the prospect of health seemed better than on the prairie, outweighed in the decision, and all took claims together about six or eight miles from the present capital. This was in the land of oak trees, and the Father Jory having seen such timber in England believed that the soil would prove fertile.

The sons, however, never expected to farm, except along the narrow creek bottoms ; but the open oak groves and endless hills offered great scope for cattle range. As a matter of fact, however, the hills have proved the best of wheat land, and have now become still more valuable for fruit and prune raising. "The Jory settlement" is now in the very region where there are great orchards crowning the hills, and where fruit driers are as conspicuous as the hop houses of French Prairie. The donation land claim of John Jory has been divided into small fruit-raising tracts, and H. S. Jory, the youngest brother, has become well known as the inventor and maker of one of the most serviceable fruit driers in use.

While, however, the Jorys have been agriculturists in Oregon, their tastes have been mechanical, reverting to the original occupation of their grandfather and father. H. S. Jory, of South Salem, has invented and patented the "Oregon Fruit Dryer," and an ingenious harrow-hinge ; Henry Jory, who died in Marysville, California, and his son, James W., each invented and patented a swivel plow. John W. and Arthur, sons of James Jory, invented and patented a wheat header ; T. C. and John W., sons of James Jory, of this sketch, invented and patented a grain separator. Thomas C. Jory, who was for some time Professor of Mathematics at Willamette University, Salem, where he graduated, also invented and presented for patent a machine for converting reciprocal into rotary motion, avoiding the "dead points ;" but was preceded by Westinghouse, of the celebrated air-brake apparatus. These items are of interest as showing a still larger truth, that probably half the young men of Oregon, at least among those at school, devote much of their leisure time in planning practical inventions in mechanics, and of the many who do not succeed in producing a tangible result the case is not so much

lack of practical skill as the intense rivalry of others at more central points. Oregon alone could furnish enough inventors to supply the world if the race of Fulton and Edison should fail elsewhere !

The Jorys have been a prolific family in Oregon, the oldest son, John, who married Caroline Budd, having a family of ten children ; James, who married Sarah A. Budd, a sister of Caroline, eleven children ; Thomas, of South Salem, who married Katharine Leabo, seven children ; William, who married Jane Moore, four children ; and H. Stevens, of South Salem, who married May Budd, still another sister of Caroline and Sarah A., five children. Thomas C. Jory, well known over the entire state as an educator and an advanced thinker on political and social matters, lives upon a part of the old donation claim, in a locality of ideal Oregon beauty, with his family of wife and three children.

The Grandfather Jory, who came to America and then with his sons to Oregon, is said to have thought himself the last of his race ; but besides the numerous family founded by himself in Oregon and in California, it is now known that there are also many other Jorys in different parts of the United States and England.

H. S. LYMAN.

RECOLLECTIONS OF GRANDMA BROWN.

By JANE KINNEY SMITH, of Astoria.

The following are personal recollections in regard to one of the most worthy and beneficent of all the pioneers of Oregon, Mrs. Tabitha Brown, whose school at Forest Grove formed the nucleus of the academy founded later by Rev. Harvey Clark, and Dr. G. H. Atkinson, and was extended still later by Dr. S. H. Marsh into a college with an outlook and endowment warranting the name university.

It is expected later to present a paper touching more fully upon the entire life of Mrs. Brown, which will be prepared by Mrs. Mary Strong Kinney of Astoria, Mrs. Kinney being a great granddaughter of Mrs. Brown. The recollections of Mrs. Smith, however, who was an inmate in Mrs. Brown's schoolhouse, are of unusual interest, and in accordance with the views of all writers on history, we should fail as collectors of historical facts unless we placed on record where possible all that may be obtained of the pioneer characters. Mrs. Smith is a daughter of Robert Crouch Kinney, who was well known all over Oregon in the early day as a pioneer farmer and fruit grower in Yamhill County; and later as the pioneer export manufacturer of flour from Salem. Jane Kinney was but ten years old when coming to Oregon, with her father's family, but remembers many details of the journey across the plains, one of the most exciting occasions being in the Umatilla country when two young Indians rode alongside a daughter of Samuel Kinney,

Robert's brother, and lifted her from the saddle as if to kidnap the girl; but were suddenly brought to time by a blow from the butt end of the father's oxwhip. This chastisement of the saucy young braves nearly precipitated a general quarrel, but it was finally settled.

The Barlow road had recently been opened and it was by this that these immigrants came into the Willamette Valley, and they soon found unoccupied land of excellent quality and sufficient for donation claims for both Robert and Samuel. This was at the head of Wapato Lake, and at the foot of Chehalem Mountain, then one of the best range countries in the world.

Robert Kinney was from Muscatine, in Iowa, and had been engaged in business, and besides being a foremost man in enterprise, was one of the most considerate of fathers. One of his first cares was to find educational advantages for his large family of girls and boys. In 1848 there were no public schools yet established in Oregon, and the country was much agitated over the Cayuse war, just closed, and the gold mines just discovered in California. Nevertheless Oregon had a number of mission schools. The Catholic school at St. Paul, and the Methodist mission school at Salem, and a school well attended on Clatsop Plains, were of the number; but Mr. Kinney was glad to learn that there was another still nearer home, at what was then called West Tualatin, but thirteen miles from Chehalem Mountain. Finding that this bore an excellent reputation, and that charges were extremely moderate, he decided to take his daughter to Mother Brown's boarding school. Of such an institution Jane, although but a girl of eleven, had rather an exalted opinion and was prepared for something quite remarkable.

It was some time in May or June of 1848 that her father brought her down from the farm, and she was

greatly impressed with the beauty of the place, soon named Forest Grove. The location is striking, and in the early days, before there had been brought about the changes incident to settlement, it possessed a romantic charm that is now lacking. The slightly elevated site, which is divided by a small run, or swale, was ornamented with an exceptionally handsome grove of oak trees, amid which rose an occasional group of firs, the whole area being open and clean and well grassed. It was a natural park, and while bearing on the first glance the impress of nature only, had also that simulation to man's most artistic planning that startles one with the thought that surely some one must have made it. Through the vistas of oak trees appeared to the north and east broad level prairies, or plains, edged with evergreen forests, and the horizon, at a long distance, was delineated underneath by the line of the Blue Mountain ranges, surmounted by the snow peaks. A fine appreciation of natural beauty is very distinctly marked in all the early pioneers and their children, and is very different from the vulgar raptures of the real estate dealer, who "writes up" our lovely scenery from the purely speculative point of view. The deterioration is to be regretted.

Arriving shortly before noon, Jane and her father were invited first of all to dine. The house was a log cabin, underneath some fine oaks, and was at no great distance from another of the same pattern, occupied by Rev. H. H. Spalding. These were afterwards connected, Grandma Brown's school requiring additional room. Mrs. Smith remembers the meal as a substantial boiled dinner of beef and vegetables, and very abundant. Meat was furnished regularly to the school by one of the patrons, a pioneer named Black, whose three boys were in attendance. Large bands of cattle were already owned by the settlers. Grandma Brown also had a fine

kitchen garden as time went on, and provided early vegetables. The girl was also impressed with the neatness and tastefulness of the table. There was a white cloth ; and the sugar bowls, salt cellars and spoonholders, which were made of cardboard, were neatly covered with fancy calico. Mrs. Smith also tells how she remembered the time of the year. It was when wild strawberries were ripe, and in the afternoon the girls were given some cups and told that they might gather berries. They did so, the wild fruit growing in great abundance and of luscious flavor ; all except the new girl. She, thinking this was a boarding school, did not know why she should pick strawberries. But at supper she found she was the only one who had none to eat.

Mrs. Brown, however, at once made her at home, and indeed made her a companion, sharing with her her own room. Mrs. Brown was known as Grandma to all the pupils. She was even then an elderly woman, past sixty years of age. In person she was small and slight, not weighing over 108 pounds. She also walked with a cane, one of her limbs being weakened from paralysis. Above a delicate face, with blue eyes, there was gray hair ; yet in manner and expression she was always young, and made herself a companion rather than a disciplinarian. She often told Mrs. Smith of her trip across the Plains. She was from the East, and of a cultivated family, who were in good circumstances. She had married an Episcopal minister, who died early, leaving her a family of two boys and one girl. With these she went at an early day to Missouri, and there opened a school, making of it a success both educationally and financially. However, she decided to come to Oregon, partly, perhaps, on account of an uncle of her husband's, a Captain Brown, who was very old, but believed a trip to Oregon would prolong his life. The trip was made

in 1846, and the latter part of the way by the Applegate route, by the Umpqua Valley into the Willamette. This proved very severe, and Mrs. Brown was compelled to come alone over the Cascades with the old captain, whom she expected might die of exhaustion at any moment. For several nights she camped alone in the mountains, or "worse than alone," as she said, not daring to sleep, but to watch by the fire to keep the wild animals away and take care of her charge.

Once arrived at Salem she was entirely destitute, not having even a cent left; but one day, placing her hand in an old glove, she felt a coin. It proved to be a picayune. The glove suggested an idea. With the picayune she bought three buckskin needles, and with a dress bought deerskins of the Indians and made men's gloves. Selling these she invested the proceeds in more materials, and was soon doing a good business making and selling these articles. Becoming acquainted she was invited by some of the missionary families to their homes. She paid a visit first to W. W. Raymond's, in the spring of 1847, on Clatsop Plains, and afterwards to Rev. Harvey Clark's, at West Tualatin or Forest Grove. One day, riding with Mr. Clark and noticing the fine situation where the Pacific University campus now is, she said that this was the place for a school. Mr. Clark readily fell in with the idea, but feared that there would be no one to conduct the necessary boarding department. Mrs. Brown offered to do this herself, and opened a home for pupils of all ages, herself acting as teacher until others were found.

Mr. Clark, who had come to Oregon as an independent missionary, and was one of the most benevolent and generous of men, both in sentiment and action, had already with his wife, conducted a school on the East Tualatin Plain, in the neighborhood of the settlement of

the old American Rocky-mountain men, Meek, Wilkins, Ebbarts, and Walker. He now owned the present site of Forest Grove, and being assured that Mrs. Brown would and could successfully carry out the plan of an educational institution, gladly welcomed this as the opportunity. It is noteworthy that this plan was in line with a suggestion of Doctor Whitman's, that as the United States Government would undoubtedly confirm the act of the Provisional Government of Oregon, granting a square mile of land to each family, there was a great opportunity open for Christian families to form colonies and acquire contiguous claims, and donate sufficient of their lands to establish schools. It is not improbable that Mr. Clark, as well as Mr. A. T. Smith, who were intimate friends of Whitman, and Rev. Elkanah Walker, who was an associate, were fully acquainted with this plan for schools. At all events this was the plan followed at Forest Grove; and Tualatin Academy, afterwards united with Pacific University, received its first endowment in land from the donation claims of the settlers there. Mr. Clark gave one half his donation land claim.

While the school was not intended as a charity the terms were so reasonable that any could attend, being but a dollar per week, including board and tuition. As was natural in the case of immigrants just crossing the Plains, there were men with families of children, left alone by the death of the mother. Some of these were placed in school at Mother Brown's. During her first term at the school Mrs. Smith recalls the following as in attendance: Eliza Spalding, who with her parents had recently come from the scenes of the Whitman massacre, and could tell stories only too heartrending of that sad affair; Mary Ann Butts and several younger children of the same family; a Miss Kimsay, usually so styled, though

but a girl of twelve ; the three boys of William Black ; Emeline Stuart, later Mrs. Lee Laughlin, the banker of McMinnville, and Mrs. Brown's two granddaughters, Teresa and Caroline, the former becoming Mrs. Zachary, and the latter Mrs. Robert Porter. These two granddaughters assisted in the housework, although Mrs. Brown herself conducted all household affairs personally.

Mrs. Brown was exceedingly quiet and cheerful in her ways and Mrs. Smith can not recollect a single case of insubordination or discipline, so orderly and intelligent was "Grandma's" management. All the various household affairs were punctually ordered, meals being on time, and retiring and getting up in the morning promptly observed. At dusk Mrs. Brown would call the children in from their play, and arranging themselves at their seats they repeated together an evening prayer. In the morning, especially Sundays, she would waken her household by singing, and as her voice was still sweet and strong, and her singing good, this made the children feel cheerful all the week. This lady was also something of a mechanic, and contrived many little conveniences, one being a clay-made oven, which was the admiration of the neighborhood ; having been constructed by simply a wooden framework, of proper size, over which was placed a sufficiency of well-mixed clay, after which the woodwork was burned out, and other fuel added until the clay was hardened into something like brick.

All the holidays were properly observed, and Mrs. Brown took as much interest as the children in seeing that suitable dresses were provided for the girls. The matter of cloth for gay clothes was not an easy one to arrange. The dress goods in the territory were still mostly obtained from the Hudson Bay stores, and their trade was still mostly calculated for native taste, the white women often found it difficult to get what they wanted.

Mrs. Smith well remembers how her new dress was spoiled for her. It was the custom of the company's clerks to lay out a large bolt of print goods, for instance, and sell only from this until it was disposed of. The only available calico for the girl's new school dress was from a piece with a strikingly large figure ; but great was her disgust to find on entering the schoolroom that her teacher, a young man, had a school coat made from the same bolt of calico, with the impressively large figure, though he came from Clatsop and she from Yamhill. This was joke enough to last the girls all the term. Mother Brown, however, circumvented the restriction of the company so far as to watch her chance and buy a whole bolt of cloth at a time, getting in that way, for one picnic occasion, enough muslin to dress the whole band of young girls in white. Who can reckon the world of happiness that these simple acts of kindness brought to the little girls, some of them "mitherless bairns" and all of them feeling keenly the privations of a new and little improved territory? Or who can tell the good that such simple devices brought to the young community, made up of so many heterogeneous elements, and with the tendency always to sink toward the level of the surrounding barbarity? It was by such ways and acts that a refined society was established, possessing in many ways a charm that our later and more differentiated culture has lost.

The teachers of that early school were persons of high education, and much varied experience, although not having the specialized culture of the present day. These were Lewis Thompson, the pioneer Presbyterian missionary of the present boundaries of Oregon ; Rev. Mr. Spalding, and Mr. Wm. Geiger. Miss Mary Johnson, of Oregon City, was also employed at one time. Mr. Geiger was the singing teacher. He was general master of ceremonies on all occasions ; training the children

once for a Fourth of July temperance picnic held on the North Plain. This was a day of great remembrance to the pupils; and the songs then learned, "Flowers, Wildwood Flowers," and "The Temperance Banner," still are as fresh in Mrs. Smith's mind as on that day nearly fifty years ago.

This is intended as but an introduction to a fuller sketch of Mrs. Brown. Mrs. Kinney, her great granddaughter, has agreed to furnish many more of the particulars of her work, and to gather as nearly as possible her letters still in the family possession. It is hoped that these may be presented to the readers of the QUARTERLY at no distant date. Mrs. Brown's home grew and flourished, so that her house had to be enlarged, and so careful was she about useless expenditures that her own private funds became quite a comfortable competence, for those days, enabling her to donate, or bequeath, actual cash, or property, for further educational work.

H. S. LYMAN.

I have read the above and find it very satisfactory and correct.

JANE K. SMITH.

ASTORIA, November 25, 1901.

DANIEL KNIGHT WARREN.

The following is the narrative of a pioneer of 1852, who is, however, at the age of sixty-five, still an active business man, and who belongs not so distinctively to the early pioneer period of settlement as to the second pioneer period—that of early enterprises and the business ventures that have determined business arrangements and channels of trade. This is a field that the Historical Society has yet scarcely entered upon, and it should be approached cautiously, as it is thus far without historical perspective, nor free from local predispositions. Nevertheless, the great advantage of collecting such data as opportunity offers, while the pioneers of enterprise are still with us and in active mind, is so apparent, that the scruples of these men themselves, who hesitate to present for public perusal what is so personal, may be set aside. Sooner or later the public claims all worthy life and action.

The following is taken mainly from a letter written by Mr. Warren to a relative at the East, interested in family history, and is, therefore, even more of family interest than the usual pioneer reminiscences; but to the historian and sociologist these records are of much more interest than the usual political history to which such exclusive attention is commonly given. Study of genealogies, even, has ceased, under modern historical methods, to be exclusive or egotistical, and throws valuable light upon our most perplexing social problems. In the case of Mr. Warren, for instance, the question of what has become of the old New England revolutionary stock has some answer, and the persistence of the char-

acteristics of the New Englander is well exhibited. New England industry, New England enterprise, the New England community and the New England home appear wherever the New England blood has gone, no matter through what vicissitudes it may have been drawn.

Mr. Warren's great grandfather, Phineas Warren, was a first cousin to Gen. Joseph Warren, of revolutionary fame, and was born in Boston, Mass., about the year 1745. His grandfather was born at Marlborough, Vt., in the memorable year 1776, and his grandmother, Mary Knight, in 1777. The infancy of these children was certainly during the days and years to develop all the native faculties of activity and fortitude. This was perhaps shown in the patriarchal family that came to them, consisting of seven sons and three daughters, who grew to maturity. The fourth child, Danford, was the father of D. K. Warren, and of the three other sons who made Oregon their home in 1852. Danford Warren was born in 1806, in Saratoga County, New York. This shows the slow drift of American life westward, which was so much accelerated half a century later. Mr. Warren's mother, Amanda Pike, was born in Springfield, Mass., April 9, 1808.

They were married at Bath, Steuben County, N. Y., in 1830, and their family was four boys, of whom D. K. was the youngest. He was born March 12, 1836, at Bath. The family history, until that time moving with the hope and happiness of the earlier American life, was now, however, sadly changed for the worse. The father was cut off prematurely at the age of thirty-one, by brain fever. Mr. Warren thus describes the burden that then fell upon his mother: "My mother was left upon a small and unproductive farm in western New York to battle for bread for herself and her four little boys. The farm contained only 110 acres, two thirds of which was covered with

timber and brush, and but a few acres were susceptible of cultivation. Therefore my mother was compelled to support her little brood in some other way. This she did for five years after the death of my father by spinning the wool and flax with which to make the clothing not only for the family, but burning the midnight oil (or tallow candle) in cutting, fitting, and making clothes for others and for the trade." However, this life of hard work was comfort and peace compared with what followed owing to an unfortunate second marriage. The commendable traits of the stepfather's character, says Mr. Warren, were "that he was temperate and industrious, and finally accumulated considerable property in Illinois;" but such was his brutality in the family as to destroy all comfort or peace at home. The caprices of this man merit recollection only for the bearing they had upon directing the four sons toward their journey to Oregon. The neighbors at length were so outraged as to drive the stepfather from the community, and he went to Illinois, then the far West. Here he seemed to have reformed, and made so favorable an impression upon the uncle of the lads as to win from him a recommendation for the mother to again live with him. The family therefore went to Illinois in 1848, making a new home at Princeton; but this soon proved as unhappy as the old. The boys found work with the neighbors, from whom the stepfather attempted to collect their pay, and they were in fact forbidden to see their mother, on pain of severe punishment. This led to troubles and scenes which made it almost imperative to break forever all home ties, and separation from their devoted mother was the least of the evils. D. K. found work with a kindly farmer named Judd, at Princeton, and although but a slender lad of thirteen, performed his work so well that at the end of the year he received pay at the rate of

\$12 a month—a dollar more than the wages of grown men. He worked here during the summers for three years, but during winters attended school, working in term time only for his board. Here he began his first business venture, investing his limited earnings in live stock—colts and horses—and at the age of sixteen found himself possessor of \$250 cash and a fine span of horses. This, as he now says, was as good a piece of financiering as he has ever done since.

In 1852 the four boys, the oldest of whom was not yet twenty-one, and the youngest but sixteen, put together their earnings, or its proceeds, and fitted out a four-horse team for the trip to Oregon. To this adventurous enterprise they were incited by acquaintance with Thomas Mercer, of Princeton, Ill., who had become an enthusiast for Oregon, and although a leading man in the growing community of a great and growing state, gave up all and gathered his family and goods into emigrant wagons, bound for the Pacific shores. He became one of the early pioneers of Seattle, locating a claim in the then deep woods beyond Lake Union, and acquired property which at length became very valuable. He had the great misfortune, however, on the journey to Oregon to lose his wife, who died at the cascades. With Mercer the Warrens effected a business arrangement, selling him their team for \$100 per head for the horses, with the option to buy back at the end of the journey at the same price, and paying him \$100 each for passage in the train, doing their share of the work, which included guard duty every fourth night.

The company was not fully organized until the Missouri River was reached at Council Bluffs. The train left Princeton about the first of April, and crossed the Mississippi at New Boston, near the mouth of Iowa

River; thence the route traveled lay through Pella, Oskaloosa, and Winterset, in Iowa, to Council Bluffs, or Kaneshville, as then called, which was nearly all wild country.

They camped at these old Indian meeting grounds by the Missouri, resting the horses for a couple of weeks and awaiting the arrival of other members of the party. The company as finally organized consisted of the following: Captain, Thomas Mercer, who was accompanied by his wife and four children; Aaron Mercer and wife; Dexter Horton, wife and child; Rev. Daniel Bagley, wife and child; Rev. W. F. West and wife; Ashby West, James Rossnagle, Wm. Shoudy; George Gould, wife, son and daughter; John Pike, an uncle of Mr. Warren's; Daniel Drake, and the four young men Warren. There were several others who were with this train at the start, but did not continue with it the entire journey. This was, it will be noticed, a small company, and shows the disposition of the emigrants of the '50s to break up or form small parties, as the big companies of the '40s had been found unwieldy. There were about fourteen wagons and forty horses. Sixteen men of the company constituted the guard, and each was thus required to stand guard every fourth night, two men at a time, the first watch being relieved at midnight.

In the above list we recognize the familiar names of Horton and Bagley, as well as Mercer. These became pioneers of Seattle, Horton engaging early in mercantile pursuits, trading up and down the Sound, and finally undertaking the banking business, being for a time in partnership with W. S. Ladd of Portland. He acquired property and erected some of the best buildings in that truly queenly city, the New York block being projected almost before the ashes of the great fire were cold. Rev. Daniel Bagley became identified with the religious and

educational life of the young commonwealth of Washington, as that part of Oregon was soon constituted, and from his labors sprang the University of Washington. Mr. Horton is still in his vigor, and Mr. Bagley still enjoys a green old age at eighty-three. Captain Mercer is no longer living.

Mr. Warren recalls his life on the Plains as furnishing the basis of a thrilling story, with its daily round of toil and change, with the alterations of plains and mountains and deserts, and incidents of buffaloes, Indians, and wolves, "along a track of more than 150 camp fires, which dotted the line for nearly 2,000 miles." He makes note, however, of only the following particulars of his journey:—

I. *In regard to the general health of our company.*—That dread scourge, the cholera, broke out among the emigrants along the Platte River, and for days and weeks we were rarely out of sight of a new made grave. Our company, however, left but one, Mrs. Gould, from Iowa, who died with cholera at Elm Creek, on Platte River; but many members of our company were sick along this part of the route. My health was good until we reached the Powder River in Eastern Oregon, where I was taken with mountain fever and did not recover until I reached the end of the journey. The wife of Capt. Thomas Mercer died at the cascades of the Columbia, within but one day's travel of the end of her journey, leaving four little girls.

II. *The Indians.*—We were very fortunate in getting through without serious trouble from them. On one occasion, a very dark night, they made a bold attempt to steal our horses, but were promptly checked by the guards, who were Dexter Horton and myself. The Indians were armed with bows and arrows, and in the skirmish for the possession of the horses an arrow was shot through my coat and vest under the left arm. With the knowledge that we now have of the Indian character, it seems remarkable, and we were indeed fortunate, that we were not left on the desolate plain without a single horse, as they could easily have stampeded our horses in spite of the guards almost any day or night between the Rocky Mountains and Snake River. On account of the scarcity of grass through that desolate region we were compelled to keep horsemen constantly scouting for grass, and at times sending from one to three miles from camp in the night in order to obtain sufficient grass to keep the horses

alive; and only the regular guard of four went with them. We lost only one horse, however, on the trip, and that was bitten by a rattlesnake on Burnt River. (In the above brief description are included many adventures. Once, when the horses were needing good pasture most, Mr. Warren was guided out a long distance from camp over the parched plains to a bit of grass, selected by an inexperienced or unobservant companion, only to find that the "grass" was simply a patch of wild flag, or iris, which the horses would not touch: and the disgust of Captain Mercer, as the animals came back hollow and weakened by further fasting, knew no bounds.)

III. *Our route.*—As before stated, we crossed the Missouri at Omaha; thence up the north side of the Platte River and up the Sweetwater River to the South Pass; thence to Green River. At Soda Springs, on Bear River, we diverged from the California route toward the northwest to Fort Hall, on the Snake River: thence practically down the Snake River (cutting across the Blue Mountains by the Grand Ronde) to the Columbia. Our whole route being substantially that of the Union Pacific Railroad (and the Oregon Short Line branch).

From The Dalles, where the first outposts of the Oregon settlements were seen, the older settlements on the Walla Walla having been abandoned after the Whitman massacre, and that valley not being occupied again by whites until after the war of 1855-56, the journey was by the Columbia. The wagons were embarked upon flatboats and transported down to the cascades, and thence by the old portage to a steamer, on which they came to Portland.

First experiences in Oregon were even more adventurous than on the Plains, and the four young men found that hard work and privation were as necessary here as ever in Illinois; but to this they were not averse, being both by nature and training disposed to take work or danger wherever these met them. They arrived at Portland, September 9, 1852, then a small but ambitious town in the woods; but were here detained by the sickness of his brother, P. C. Warren. Upon his convalescence the others began the search for employment. George and Frank went down the Columbia and found

work at a sawmill at Astoria, where they were later joined by P. C. D. K. determined to try his luck at the gold fields in the valley of the Rogue River, Southern Oregon. At the Umpqua, having covered about 200 miles of his journey, he found employment in ferrying across the North Fork at Winchester. In December he continued his journey, arriving finally at Jump-off-Joe. The hardships of the journey and the intensely cold weather of that season, which was one of the most severe ever experienced, proved too much for the strength of the lad. He was taken with lung fever, being predisposed to this disorder from a previous attack the year before in Illinois. He lay sick in the camp of three brothers of the name of Raymond, who procured for him a physician of the old school, whose main prescription was to forbid him drinking water. In his raging fever and delirium this was a torture that still remains in memory, and if he had not eluded his nurse one night, and gone to the spring at the door, under a bank of snow, and drunk his fill, though so weak as to be unable to get back, and being found in the snow, he thinks the fever would have terminated fatally. At any rate with the draught of water the fever subsided, and health slowly returned.

He found work in the mines until spring opened, but seeing little hope of financial success concluded to go to Astoria, where work at better wages could be had in the sawmill. He had but \$10 with which to make the journey, and that at a time when the roughest fare cost a dollar a meal. He worked his way, however, reaching Astoria in June. It was probably fortunate that he left the Rogue River as he did, since in the fall of '53 there was the memorable Indian outbreak, and the miners that escaped with life only were to be congratulated. The

house in which he had lain sick was burned, and his physician, Doctor Rose, was killed by the Indians.

At Astoria, where he arrived with only the clothes he wore and \$3.00 cash, he found work in a logging camp, at the mouth of the Walluski River. He was paid \$75 per month, but after three months his employer broke up and absconded. Mr. Warren says, however, that he "did not claim all the credit for his failure, as there were ten others working for the man." What was another's extremity proved Mr. Warren's opportunity, as he soon went to logging on his own account, and continued this with fair success until the summer of '55, when he determined to try once more his luck in the mines. He went up the Columbia to the Colville district, taking a claim at the mouth of the Pen d'Oreille; but this enterprise was soon broken off by the general Indian uprising of that year, and the miners were compelled to seek safety in flight.

Returning to Astoria in '55, being then nineteen years old, Mr. Warren resumed his logging operations, and continued until '59. In the mean time he purchased a tract of 360 acres of timber land on the Columbia, thirteen miles above Astoria. This was on the present site of Knappa. Life here was free and busy, but not altogether satisfactory to the young man. He had a few acres in cultivation, and a small house, a barn, and a young orchard. On this little place he "batched" a part of the time, alternating this, when it became monotonous, with boarding at a neighbor's; but tiring of a life that offered so few advantages, especially in the way of society or personal culture, he decided to return to Illinois, and made the journey in company with his brother, P. C. Warren. They left Astoria in February of 1860 on the steamship Panama for San Francisco; thence on the Cortez to the Isthmus, which they crossed upon the railroad then but

lately completed ; and finished the journey on the steamship *Ariel*, the same which was afterwards captured on this line by the privateer *Alabama* in 1863. After visiting the old home at Bath a few weeks he went on to Princeton, Ill., and remained in that state until 1863. This he speaks of as the most remarkable period of his life, as he here renewed an old acquaintance, and on February 24, of the year last named, was married to Sarah Elizabeth Eaton. This lady was the only daughter of John L. and Lovey B. Eaton, who were of the pioneer and revolutionary stock of New England, and who were among the pioneers of the then far west, having moved from Salisbury, N. H., to Illinois in 1845, when the subject of this sketch was but five years old. This was an event and experience, which Mr. Warren describes as "lifting him to a higher plane and a better life."

He looks back, however, with surprise upon the confidence with which Mrs. Warren, then but a girl in years, accompanied him on the return journey of 7,000 miles, and undertook life amid the privations of pioneer days in Oregon, for they decided to return to the little clearing on the *Columbia*. Pleasant visits with friends in New York were quickly followed by the sea voyage, upon which, off Cape Hatteras, a terrible storm was encountered, making the trip to the Isthmus double its usual length. The steamship on the return from Panama was the *Constitution*, to San Francisco, and from that city the *Brother Jonathan*, whose wreck subsequently is still remembered as thrilling all the scattered settlements of Oregon with sorrow and sympathy. They arrived at Astoria on May 2, and soon undertook pioneer life on the farm by the *Columbia*. They were not in affluent circumstances. Mr. Warren recalls that after buying such furniture as was necessary, and a small stock of provisions, he had but \$4.00 cash left. How-

ever," this stringency was but a small impediment to their spirit of enterprise and did not at all mar their happiness.

Mr. Warren's business was chiefly rafting logs to Astoria, and this required that he should often be absent from home, and Mrs. Warren remembers the courage that it required, or must be assumed, to remain alone at such times and care for the home. She tells of one day when she was thus alone that the entire place was surrounded by Indians who had become intoxicated, and although usually they were tractable when sober, she did not know what they might attempt while thus exhilarated, but she sang around the house, doing her work and attending to the baby with the greatest show of unconcern; and perhaps this cool manner saved trouble.

Neither was it all pleasure on the river where Mr. Warren navigated the rafts. In the daytime and during serene weather there was no difficulty, but logs had to go at other times also. He tells of one night off Tongue Point, an elevated headland that projects sharply a mile or more into the broad river, and where both wind and stream are violent in heavy weather, that the raft of logs which he and one other man were attempting to handle became windbound, and all but went to pieces. The seas broke constantly over the end of the clumsy structure, and to make it worse, the gale, having risen suddenly from the east, was piercingly cold, freezing the spray as it fell. At another time he lost a raft in the breakers near the mouth of the Columbia, and narrowly escaped with his life.

After seven years on the farm and rafting on the river, a mercantile and market business was undertaken at Astoria. It is worthy of mention that in connection with the market business the firm, Warren & McGuire,

ran the first market wagon in Astoria, in 1876; and that Mr. Warren owned the horse that drew the first wagon, and kept the animal until his death, which occurred at the patriarchal age, for a horse, of thirty-four. It is also to be noted that the first street improvement in Astoria, being that part of Ninth Street between Astor and Duane, three blocks, was made by Mr. Warren's brother, G. W. Warren. This was done in the fall of '53, and consisted of filling it up to the established grade with sawdust from Parker's mill; being a depth of about three feet. The work was through a swamp almost the entire distance.

In connection with the market business, quite a portion of which was in contracts for supply of Fort Stevens army post, it was found convenient to pasture cattle on the tide lands west of Astoria, across Young's Bay. This led to purchase of considerable tracts of this land by himself and his brother, P. C. Warren, along both banks of Skipanon Creek, which winds for several miles through the natural meadows laid down by the action of the tides along the Columbia River's estuary. Mr. Warren had already made some experiments in reclaiming such lands by diking, at Knappa, and was the first in this effort. He now attempted this on a larger scale and was so well pleased with the results that he at length inclosed his entire holding of several hundred acres. This was done in 1878. The land thus reclaimed has proved highly productive of hay and pasturage, and as the lower Columbia region alone has many thousands of acres of such lands, his success has led the way to a large development of resources considered before as of little value.

After fourteen years at Astoria Mr. Warren decided to retire upon his farm at Skipanon, and there made a delightful home amid the most pleasant surroundings. He has made almost a model farm, with a large and elegant

residence, and orchard and fields, whose product fill his immense barns to overflowing ; but business habits proved too strong to be broken, and although nominally on the retired list, he continued actively in business, taking up interest in banking, sawmills, steamboats, and railroads. A share of his time was given also during this period to public service, and he successfully filled several local positions with honor, and also served a term in the state legislature, as joint senator from Clatsop, Tillamook, and Columbia counties in 1876.

Railroad development in Clatsop County, of which Mr. Warren was a pioneer, and became president of the short Seaside line of sixteen miles first built, placed new value upon his farm property. Here was found the most convenient place for railroad shops and yards. Here therefore he decided to lay off a town site, which appropriately took the name of Warrenton. This is now the central part of what is known as the Westside. In Warrenton the New Englander's ideas of utility and beauty in a village or city have reappeared. The streets are broad, and carefully kept. Shade trees are planted along the lanes, and careful provision for schools, churches, and public libraries has been made. A liberal policy has been followed by Mr. Warren to induce residents to build handsome houses, lots having been given in numerous instances on the simple condition that fitting improvements be made. The handsome schoolhouse, costing \$1,100, was built and donated, together with the grounds on which it stands, by Mr. Warren. He has offered the most liberal conditions of use of his water frontage, and it is not improbable that the ample tide-land meadows of Warrenton will become in time the manufacturing district of Astoria. This, however, is for the future.

The lesson of his life, as Mr. Warren sees it, is that there is always reward for industry, and that opportunity

has rather widened than diminished since the early days. To his own sons and daughters his enterprises have opened the way to the most desirable opportunities in society and business ; and to many other young persons, either directly through his own home, or indirectly through the work he has always managed to furnish, he has provided the way to work and success ; having constantly, since the age of nineteen, given employment to a number of men.

The general success of Mr. Warren's enterprises emphasizes the truth, which all founders of communities and town builders should ponder, that liberal rather than narrow interpretations of business laws will in the end show the greatest results.

H. S. LYMAN.

DOCUMENTS.

A copy of the orders to Captain Biddle, United States Navy, to command the U. S. S. Ontario when sent out and to resume possession for the United States of the post and territory at the mouth of the Columbia; also an extract from the log of that vessel covering the period from June 30, 1818, when she sailed from Lima, Peru, to August 30, 1818, the date of the commencement of her return voyage to that port, after her cruise to the Columbia River; and Captain Biddle's official report of his work :

NAVY DEPARTMENT, May 12, 1817.

CAPT. JAMES BIDDLE, *Philadelphia*:

SIR: Proceed to New York and assume the command of the U. S. ship Ontario destined for immediate service. This order is given with a desire to meet your wishes, as frequently expressed, for active employment.

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

EXTRACT FROM LOG OF THE U. S. S. ONTARIO, CAPT. JAMES BIDDLE.

I sailed from Lima on the thirtieth of June (1818) and arrived off the Columbia River on the nineteenth of August at daylight. The entrance to this river is rendered difficult to vessels so large as the Ontario by the shoalness of the water on its bar, by its sinuous channel, and by the strength and irregularity of its tides. As it was not indispensable to the service I had to perform that the ship should enter the river, I anchored outside the bar, and proceeded in with three boats well armed and manned with more than fifty officers and seamen. I landed at a small cove within Cape Disappointment on the north side of the river, and here, in the presence of several of the natives, displaying the flag of the United States, turning up a sod of soil, and giving three cheers, I nailed up against a tree a leaden plate in which were cut the following words:

TAKEN POSSESSION OF IN THE NAME AND ON THE
BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES, BY CAPTAIN
JAMES BIDDLE, COMMANDING THE UNITED STATES
SHIP ONTARIO. COLUMBIA RIVER, AUGUST, 1818.

While this was passing on shore, the ship fired a salute. When this ceremony was concluded, I proceeded up to Chinoake village and visited its chief, thence crossed the river and visited the settlement, which is 20 miles from Cape Disappointment, and on my way down the river I landed on its south side near Point George and took possession. I anchored with the boats for the night off Chinoake Point, and on the following morning I recrossed the bar and returned on board.

As it was impracticable to bring wood and water in our boats to the ship without the bar, it became necessary to go into some neighboring port for a supply of these articles. The want also of fresh provisions, which can not be procured at the Columbia River, and which it was not prudent the crew should be longer without, rendered it advisable to enter a port in the vicinity. I therefore sailed for Monterey, where I arrived on the twenty-fifth of August. At this point I met the Russian sloop of war Kutusoff.

Having completed wooding and watering, I sailed for Monterey on the thirtieth of August, and arrived on the twenty-second of October at Lima.

U. S. SHIP ONTARIO, Aug. 19, 1818.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you I have this day taken possession, in the name and on the behalf of the United States, of both shores of the river Columbia; observing in the performance of this service the ceremonies customary upon the like occasions of setting up a claim to national sovereignty and dominion.

I have the honor to be with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. BIDDLE.

The Hon. THE SECRETARY OF NAVY, Washington City.

Letter from Iowa Territory, dated March 4, 1843, and signed "H.," in *National Intelligencer*, April 18, 1843. Copied from the *New Haven Palladium*:—

I suppose you of the East consider the present residents of Iowa the very pioneers of the West. Never was a greater mistake; the true western pioneers have pushed on beyond us, or if here and there one still lingers, it is only that he may dispose of his farm and "improvements" to push for a "new country."

Strange, restless beings are the genuine pioneers. Among them you may find some who have helped to lay the foundations of every state from the "old thirteen" hither; men who have successfully held seats in every legislature, from Virginia to Iowa, inclusive, but who are now moving to a new country again to "make a claim;" again to act a conspicuous part in the community in which they live:

again to run the political race, become the members of the legislature of some future state, find themselves thrown in the shade by those of greater attainments who follow in their wake, and again to push for the "new purchase."

Fearlessness, hospitality, and independent frankness, united with restless enterprise and unquenchable thirst for novelty and change, are the peculiar characteristics of the western pioneers. With him there is always a land of promise further west, where the climate is milder, the soil more fertile, better timber and finer prairies; and on, on, on, he goes, always seeking and never attaining the Pisgah of his hopes. You of the old states can not readily conceive the every-day sort of business an "old settler" makes of selling out his "improvements," hitching the horses to the big wagon, and, with his wife and children, swine and cattle, pots and kettles, household goods and household gods, starting on a journey of hundreds of miles to find and make a new home.

Just now Oregon is the pioneer's land of promise. Hundreds are already prepared to start thither with the spring, while hundreds of others are anxiously awaiting the action of congress in reference to that country, as the signal for their departure. Some have already been to view the country, and have returned with a flattering tale of the inducements it holds out. They have painted it to their neighbors in the brightest colors; these have told it to others: the Oregon fever has broke out, and is now raging like any other contagion. Mr. Calhoun was right when he told the senate that the American people would occupy that country independent of all legislation: that in a few years the pioneers of the West would overrun it and hold it against the world. "Wilson," said I a few days since to an old settler, "so you are going to Oregon." "Well, I is, horse. Tice Pitt was out looking at it last season, and he says it is a leetle the greatest country on the face of the earth. So I'm bound to go." "How do the old woman and the girls like the idea of such a long journey?" "They feel mighty peert about it, and Suke says she shan't be easy till we start."

Extract from a lecture by George L. Hillard, on "The Connection Between Geography and History," delivered before the American Institute of Instruction at Hartford, Conn., August, 1845:—

There are no considerable tracts of land wholly unfitted for agricultural purposes within the limits of the United States. Between us and the Pacific there is an extensive region of this kind of about 800 miles in length and 600 miles in breadth, including the Rocky Moun-

tains, which run through it; a sandy, rocky tract not capable of supporting a stationary agricultural population, and only to be safely traversed by persons in considerable numbers. Of the validity of our claims for this territory, I have not carefully informed myself, but all past history gives its testimony against the probable success of any attempt to combine into one political whole two great members thus disjoined. Nature interposes her veto by rearing her rocky walls and spreading out her dreary wastes of separation. She forbids the bans of such a union, and in this point of view alone I should hold our claim upon Oregon to be dearly maintained at the cost of one dollar of treasure or one drop of blood.

THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE OREGON CENTRAL RAILROAD.

BEGINNING OF OREGON RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT.

The March QUARTERLY contained two references to this subject, in treating of other questions. Both Professor Robertson and Mr. W. D. Fenton give accounts of the contest between the "East Side Line" and the "West Side Line" for the possession of the first grant of land to Oregon in aid of the construction of railroads. That contention between the two companies makes a memorable chapter in the history of the state.

Being now the only survivor of the twenty-two men who made up the boards of directors of the two companies contending for the land grant, I am impelled, at the risk of being thought governed by personal and controversial feeling (of which I am unconscious), and by the interest I have in historical accuracy on this subject, to make the following additions to, and corrections in the articles referred to :

The contest referred to by Professor Robertson grew out of the desire to get possession of the land grant made by Congress on July 25, 1866. That grant, so far as it related to Oregon, was, more than to any other person, due to the labors of Joseph Gaston, who, at Jacksonville, in

December, 1863, organized and put in the field a party of engineers to survey a railroad line from the state boundary north to the Columbia River through the Rogue River, Umpqua, and Willamette valleys. Gaston assumed all responsibility for the undertaking, furnished the outfit, raised the means to pay and subsist the party, wrote and printed the report of the engineers, paid for the maps, procured and sent hundreds of petitions to the legislature, and memorials to Congress, in favor of the land grant, conducted all the correspondence, answered all the objections, and devoted his time for three years to the undertaking, and was recognized by the congressional delegations from both Oregon and California as the guiding and responsible promoter of an Oregon and California railroad on behalf of the State of Oregon. The act of Congress provided that so far as the grant related to Oregon, the lands should go to such corporation as the legislative assembly of Oregon should designate. At the ensuing session of the Oregon legislature, after the passage of the act granting the lands, Gaston prepared and had signed articles of incorporation, incorporating "The Oregon Central Railroad Company," which were read and discussed before the legislature, and filed according to law, and the legislature then passed a resolution designating the Oregon Central Railroad Company to receive the granted lands in Oregon, which resolution was afterwards filed with the Secretary of the Interior at Washington City, which officer recognized said company as entitled to the land grant in Oregon. The legislature went farther, and passed an act pledging the state to pay seven per cent interest on \$1,000,000 of the company's first mortgage bonds to aid in construction of the road.

Up to the date of these acts of the legislature, and for six months thereafter, no one questioned the proceedings of Gaston or the legality of his company; but now sud-

denly appears on the scene one S. G. Elliot from California, and who had made the survey in that state. Mr. Elliot kindly proposed to take over the whole business, and relieve the Oregonians of the trouble of building their end of the line. He had a grand scheme which he proposed to unfold to a select few of the incorporators in the Oregon company. He proposed to take possession of the Oregon Central Railroad Company, and, by a board of directors in favor of his scheme, enter into a contract with a fictitious concern known in the deal as "A. J. Cook & Company," for the construction of the road, and issue to Cook & Company \$7,000,000 in stock and first mortgage bonds to the amount of \$35,000 per mile of road for construction purposes; \$2,000,000 of which stock should be preferred interest-bearing stock, and should be by Cook & Company transferred back to the Oregon board of directors for their perquisites in the matter and for the purpose of influencing legislation in Oregon.

When this scheme was proposed to Gaston he, under the advice of a large majority of the incorporators of the Oregon Central Company, rejected it and refused to be a party to it, and being in a position to defeat it, prevented the Oregon Central Railroad Company from being connected with it, and then the trouble commenced. Three of the incorporators out of twenty of the Oregon Central Company seceded, and with three other persons made and filed articles of incorporation on April 22, 1867, in the name of the Oregon Central Railroad Company.

Here then were two companies both claiming the same corporate name, when in law and equity there could be but one entitled thereto. The east side company was not only open to the objection that it had usurped the corporate name of a prior corporation, but also to the objection that it had violated the law of the state in its organization. For while its articles of incorporation provided for

a capital stock of \$7,250,000, and the state law required that one half of this capital should be subscribed before the election of a board of directors, yet in violation of this law the east side company had been organized by a subscription of \$100 each by six men, and then the six men present passing a resolution authorizing the so-called chairman of the meeting to subscribe \$7,000,000 to the capital stock of the company in the name of the company; or, in other words, authorizing a man to lift himself over a fence by the straps of his boots. These facts becoming known, Gaston lost no time in applying to the circuit court of Marion County for leave to test the legality of the east side company. This was refused by the presiding judge on the ground that no damages had been shown by the Oregon Central Company from the alleged unlawful usurpation of its name; and so another tack must be tried. The opportunity came a few months later when the east side company sought to condemn the right of way for its railroad through a farmer's land in Clackamas bottom. Here the Oregon Central Company inspired the farmer to refuse the right of way and deny the legal corporate existence of the east side company; and upon this issue a trial was demanded, but the east sidiers were too wary to submit their organization to such legal test, and immediately withdrew their suit of condemnation, relocated their line, and avoided the farmer's land by a more circuitous route.

Foiled again, the Oregon Central resolved to get into a court where there could be no dodging, and assigning one of its first mortgage bonds to James B. Newby, of California, Newby commenced a suit in the United States district court of Oregon, to enjoin the east side company from using the name "Oregon Central Railroad Company," on the ground that such use was an injury to the value of his bond. Here was found a judge who

never shirked a responsibility, and after many months of dilatory special pleading by the east side company, Judge Deady decided, without evasion, that the prior adoption of a corporate name by a corporation appropriated the exclusive use of such name, and that a second company attempting to use such name could be enjoined from the use thereof without any showing of damages to the first appropriator. This decision was the death knell of the east side company, which made haste to incorporate and organize the Oregon and California Railroad Company, and to it made a transfer of all its property and franchises. Judge Deady's decision in that case is a landmark in the jurisprudence of the United States, being the only decision up to that time ever made upon the question involved, and it has ever since been the law of every court throughout the Union.¹

The Oregon Central Railroad Company, (then widely known as the west side company,) was thus vindicated in its right to the exclusive use of that name. Now let us see how the east side company stands in the light of having ever had a lawful existence. Not long after Judge Deady's decision, Ben Holladay and S. G. Elliot, who were partners in the A. J. Cook Company construction contract mentioned, quarreled over a division of their plunder, and Elliot brought suit for a settlement of partnership affairs. Never was there a better illustration of the old maxim, "When rogues fall out, honest men get their dues," than was afforded by this law suit, which was finally decided by the Supreme Court of Oregon and reported on pages 85 to 99 of the eighth volume Oregon Reports. The decision states the facts that—

On the day the (Salem) corporation was formed six different persons subscribed one share each to this stock (stock of the company), and thereupon there was an attempt to subscribe seventy thousand shares

¹ See Deady's Reports, pp. 609 to 620.

by the company, of its own stock, by a subscription, as follows: "Oregon Central Railroad Company, by George L. Woods, chairman, seventy thousand shares—seven million dollars."

Farther along the decision recites the facts, that in addition to the above, the directors of this Salem company issued \$2,000,000 unassessable preferred stock, bearing interest at seven per cent per annum, and delivered the same to A. J. Cook & Company under a private understanding that Cook & Company was to give back to these directors \$1,000,000 of this preferred stock, to be used by them in procuring legislation in Oregon. On page 91 of the decision the court says:

The attempt to subscribe seventy thousand shares to the stock of the Oregon Central Railroad Company, by the corporation itself through a person styling himself chairman, was done simply to evade the liability which the law imposes on all persons who subscribe to the capital stock of corporations. This action was a mere nullity, and added nothing to the amount of stock subscribed, which then was only six shares of one hundred dollars each. Those who subscribed the six shares then proceeded to elect directors and other officers of the corporation. The corporation was not organized according to law, but in direct violation of the statute, which provides that "it shall be lawful in the organization of any corporation to elect a board of directors as soon as one half the capital stock has been subscribed." In this case the attempted organization of the Oregon Central Railroad Company amounted to nothing. It was absolutely void. Nor did the joint organization of the legislative assembly, adopted October 20, 1868, recognize this corporation as the one entitled to receive the land granted by act of Congress, to aid in the construction of a railroad, cure the inherent defects of its organization. It had no power to legally transact any business nor to accept or hold the lands so granted.

Farther along, on page 93 of the decision, in speaking of the value of the bonds issued by this company, the court says:

Goldsmith and others had tried in vain to negotiate these bonds and found it impossible to sell them at any price. The evidence shows that they were worth nothing in the money markets of the country. Suits had been commenced in the United States circuit court and the circuit courts of this state against the Oregon and California Railroad Company to test the legality of its existence as a corporation, and

they had so far progressed as to foreshadow its overthrow. Joseph Gaston, the president of a rival corporation of the same name, known as the Oregon Central Railroad Company (west side) had issued circulars and sent them to bankers and brokers in the East, setting forth, in language more forcible than elegant, that "the corporation was a humbug, and its bonds were worthless." It was known that the company was hopelessly insolvent.

Such was the organization and end of the company Mr. Fenton seems to believe was the "Oregon Central Railroad Company." It never was a corporation, and is entitled to no place in the history of the state as such. It may be inquired how that company finally secured the land grant if it had no legal standing or existence? The answer is, that after Elliot and his Oregon associates were practically beaten in the courts and before the people, and in a state of hopeless collapse, they made a hasty antemortem disposition of their effects to Ben Holladay, noticed by Professor Robertson. Holladay was everything that Professor Robertson paints him, and a great deal more and worse. Possessed of large wealth for that time, he came to Oregon to take up the east side wreckage and make something of it. He distributed his money with a lavish hand, subsidized newspapers, hired lawyers, and purchased politicians right and left; and at the next ensuing session of the legislative assembly organized a hostelry at Salem, keeping "open house" to all comers, and so successfully plied susceptible members of the legislature that he was able with his money judiciously distributed to secure from the legislature the passage of a resolution declaring that "The Oregon Central Railroad Company" had never been designated to receive the lands granted by Congress; that such designation was yet to be made, and that "The Oregon Central Railroad Company of Salem" be designated to receive the grant. This action of the legislature, as Holladay afterward informed the writer hereof, cost him \$35,000. This was the first

time in the history of the state its legislative assembly had been openly and unblushingly corrupted; and the damage, disgrace, and dishonor thus inflicted on the commonwealth far outweighed any possible benefit Holladay's railroad enterprise ever did the state; but armed with this resolution, Holladay proceeded to Washington City to induce Congress to set aside the acts of the Secretary of the Interior in recognizing the Oregon Central Railroad Company as entitled to the land grant. On this question the Oregon delegation divided, one senator espousing the cause of Holladay and the other remaining immovable in his support of the rightful claimant of the land grant. Congress finally adopted a compromise, and passed an act to give the land to the company which should first complete twenty miles of road; and Holladay won the land grant on that stake.

The Salem (east side) Company was not yet out of trouble. Notwithstanding it had purchased an indorsement from the Oregon legislature, and had been recognized by Congress as entitled to compete for the land grant, and had actually won it by completing the first twenty miles of the road, yet Judge Deady's decision was fairly a sentence of dissolution, death, and defeat. Conscious of its inherent illegal organization, and forbidden to use the corporate name it had unlawfully usurped, and without which it could neither raise money by selling bonds, or even condemn the right of way for its road, it may well be imagined the east side company was in straits from which it required a master's hand for delivery. Its attorneys, doubtless, saw well enough what our supreme court afterwards decided, that it could neither take nor hold the land grant. In this dilemma Holladay applied to the distinguished New York lawyer Wm. M. Evarts, who was afterwards secretary of state under President Hayes, and who, after investigating the whole matter, devised the plan of incorporating a new

company—"The Oregon and California Railroad Company,"—to which corporation the Salem company transferred all its effects. Mr. Evarts gave the legal opinion that inasmuch as Congress had recognized the Salem Company as an Oregon corporation, and had extended to it the franchise of competing for the land grant, and the company had actually complied with the terms of such recognition by building twenty miles of railroad, and that franchise was a grant from the sovereign that no one could dispute but the grantor, and that if this grantee should transfer to a new and lawful corporation all its rights in the grant, the courts would respect and maintain such transfer in the possession of the grantee, and that it would be safe for capitalists to lend the new corporation money on such security; and so the transfer of the Oregon and California Company was made, and bankers in Germany advanced the money on the first mortgage bonds of the company to build the road. For this service rendered by Mr. Evarts, Holladay paid a fee of \$25,000.

It might be inferred from the articles of Professor Robertson and Mr. Fenton that the east side company was the popular one with the people of Oregon; but this was not the fact. Both companies strenuously sought to enlist popular support; and the Oregon Central (or west side) company succeeded to the extent of getting the Portland city council to pass an ordinance pledging the city to pay the interest on \$250,000 of the company's bonds for twenty years. A like pledge was made by the commissioners of Washington County, to the extent of \$50,000 of the company's bonds, and a like pledge by Yamhill County, to the extent of \$75,000 of the company's bonds. In addition to this, citizens of Portland subscribed and paid for \$50,000 of the company's stock, citizens of Washington County took \$20,000 of the company's stock, and citizens of Yamhill County \$25,000; while Couch and

Flanders of Portland gave the company ten blocks of land where the Union Depot now stands as an inducement to locate its Portland depot in the north of the city.

On the other hand, the east side company applied to the Portland council for aid and indorsements, and was refused ; no aid was given them by citizens of Portland, and no one along their own line would take stock in their company. The people of Portland were not opposed to an east side railroad, but they were opposed to the methods the east side company were using to organize their company and get the land grant. It is true that the east side company had the larger assemblage at their "ground breaking celebration, but it was not a spontaneous gathering. It had been widely advertised and worked up in the brass band whoop-and-hurrah style of a political meeting. The Oregon Central Company broke ground for the construction of its road on April 14, 1868, two days ahead of the east side event. The ceremony took place at the point where Woods Street, in Caruthers' Addition to Portland, intersects the line where the railroad is now constructed. A brief announcement of the event was given in the local news columns of the *Daily Oregonian* a few hours before the ceremony took place, and thousands of the people responded and were promptly on the ground. Walter Moffatt, a public spirited citizen, contributed a wagon load of refreshments free to all, and there was an abundance of "real old Monongahela rye" for everybody to toast the enterprise and everything else, and the celebration went off with a spirit which showed which railroad company was the popular favorite. Governor Gibbs and Col. W. W. Chapman made addresses which were cheered to the echo ; after which, the *Daily Oregonian* of the 15th describes the proceedings as follows :

More speeches were called for, but some one called out, "Talk enough ; let's go to work," and before anybody could have led off in

any other direction, the whole mass of the people, as if moved by one impulse, began to seize upon the shovels, picks, wheelbarrows, etc., and to start the carts toward the place of beginning the first cut. The scene at this moment was one of the most animated ever witnessed in this city. Carts were hurried under the direction of Mr. Slavin to their places, were filled almost by magic, and hurried away, their places being instantly supplied by others. The people were cheering and giving all manner of demonstrations of joy. Many of them rushed in among the crowds of workmen, seized upon shovels and commenced throwing dirt as if for life. Others seized upon wheelbarrows, and, getting loads as fast as they could, hurried down the grade to the dumping place, just to say they had assisted in breaking ground. Old men, middle-aged men, young men, boys, and even ladies, vied with each other in good natured rivalry to throw dirt into the first cart. There were not shovels enough for all, and those who did not succeed in helping to fill the first cart struggled for a chance at the second, or the third, or the fourth, and so on. One lady, Mrs. David C. Lewis, wife of Engineer Lewis, was among the first to throw dirt into the carts, and was immensely cheered.

That was the ground breaking for the first railroad in Oregon.

After losing the land grant the Oregon Central Company sent Mr. Gaston to Washington City in December, 1869, where he was successful in getting from Congress a second grant of land to aid in constructing a railroad from Portland to McMinnville, with a branch from Forest Grove to Astoria; and under which grant the road was constructed to the Yamhill River at St. Joe. This was the last grant of land made by Congress as a subsidy to railroads; and that part of the road proposed from Forest Grove to Astoria not having been constructed, the grant for such branch was forfeited by act of Congress in 1882. Had it been retained to the present the timber on this route would have made it the most valuable grant in the United States.

During this memorable contest, the board of directors of the east side, or Salem Company, was composed of I. R. Moores, George L. Woods, E. N. Cooke, T. McF. Patton, John H. Moores, Jacob Conser, and John H. Miller, of

Marion County; J. H. Douthitt, of Linn County; F. A. Chenowith and Greenbury Smith, of Benton County; S. Ellsworth and J. H. D. Henderson, of Lane County; Stephen F. Chadwick, of Umpqua County; John E. Ross, of Jackson County; A. F. Hedges and A. L. Lovejoy, of Clackamas County, and S. B. Parrish, of Multnomah County; while the directors of the Oregon Central Company were J. B. Underwood, of Lane County; Wm. T. Newby, of Yamhill County; Thos. R. Cornelius, of Washington County; and John C. Ainsworth and Joseph Gaston, of Multnomah County. It is a great pleasure to have the opportunity to testify to the public spirit and high character of these men who have passed away, and who in their day did their whole duty in unselfish labors to lay deep and broad the sure foundation of civic institutions and commercial prosperity for the State of Oregon; and while it was true that \$50,000 of the preferred stock referred to was issued and deposited in the safe of E. N. Cooke, of Salem, for each one of the east side directors in pursuance of the scheme of Elliott, it is gratifying to know that not a man of them ever accepted a dollar of it, and could never be used by Holladay to promote or approve his questionable methods, and who for that reason, when he organized his new company were all left out of it. As the railroad could not be located on both sides of the Willamette River, it was inevitable that there should be a contest for the franchise and the land grant which accompanied it; and now, when the bitterness engendered by the contention has long since passed away and been forgotten, and both sides of the Willamette Valley have secured through the labors of those pioneers in public works all the benefits of railroad transportation, their places in the historical record of the state may be clearly defined, and the legend end with, "Well done, good and faithful servants."

JOSEPH GASTON.

HISTORY OF THE PRESS OF OREGON 1839-1850.

By GEORGE H. HIMES.

One of the most signally important agencies in the development of a country is the art of printing with movable types, the "Art Preservative of all Arts." Since its discovery in Europe in 1430-1450 it has become one of the most potent of world forces. The first printing press in America, at least so far as the English language is concerned, about which anything is known, was established at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in March, 1639, by one Day. The proprietor's name was Glover, who died on his way from England to America. The first thing printed was the freeman's oath, the second an almanac, and the third a version of the Psalms. In 1709 a press was established at New London, Connecticut, by a printer named Short. The first code of Connecticut laws was revised by the general court, held at Hartford in October, 1672, and printed by Samuel Green, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1675. The first newspaper in America was the *News Letter*, printed in Boston, April 17, 1704. The first newspaper in Connecticut was the *Gazette*, begun at New Haven in 1755, by James Parker, but discontinued in 1767, because he removed to New York, and is believed to have been the first printer in that city.

The first press on the Pacific Coast, or any of its tributary islands, operated by citizens of the United States, was the *Mission Press* of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (the foreign missionary society of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of the United States), which was sent to Oahu, Sandwich Islands, late in

1821. On January 5, 1822, stands for type cases were made and part of the type placed in the cases. On January 7th the first impression of the first sheet of the Owyhee spelling book was taken. The name of the printer was Elisha Loomis, who was also a teacher, and went from Middlesex, New York, to join the mission party at Boston, which sailed from that port to the islands on October 23, 1819. When the first sheet of the spelling book was printed the native governor, Tiamoko, several masters of vessels, and others, were present to witness the scene, the first of the kind in these islands. How interesting to those who carried forward their reflections to the future and distant and endless results. On January 10th Mr. Loomis printed the king's name in "elegant capitals" in the two forms, "Rihoriho," and, "Liholiho," so that he might settle the question whether "R" or "L" should be used in spelling his name. He chose the former. On January 12th Mr. Loomis printed a supply of several kinds of approbation tickets, to be used among the school children. The progress of printing was slow, owing to the difficulties in translating the language. At the end of six months only sixteen pages of a small spelling book had been printed. Late in 1825 Mr. Loomis made a statement to the effect that up to that date sixteen thousand copies of the spelling book, four thousand copies of a small scripture tract, four thousand copies of a catechism, and two thousand copies of a hymn book of sixty pages had been printed, and in this connection stated that another press and more type was greatly needed. Not long after the above date a press was established at Honolulu, and by March 20, 1830, the combined plants had issued twenty-two distinct books, averaging thirty-seven small pages each, amounting in all to three hundred and eighty-seven thousand copies.

In a few years the demand for printed matter in the

islands assumed such proportions that greater facilities for printing became necessary ; hence the first Honolulu press was laid aside.

In 1836 the American Board Mission among the Indians in Oregon was established, so as a means of encouragement, and with a view to helping on in the work of this mission as far as possible, the First Native Church of Honolulu decided to send it the unused press. Accordingly, an arrangement was effected with Mr. Edwin O. Hall, who had been one of the printers of the mission since 1835, to take it to Oregon. It was shipped with type, fixtures, paper, and binding apparatus, all valued at \$500, and arrived at Vancouver, on the Columbia River, about April 10, 1839. An express was sent to Dr. Marcus Whitman at Wai-il-et-pu, six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, Washington, and to Rev. H. H. Spalding at Lapwai, on the Clearwater, not a great way from the present city of Lewiston, Idaho, notifying them that the press, with Mr. and Mrs. Hall, and F. Ermatinger, as guide, would leave Vancouver on the 13th with the hope of reaching Fort Walla Walla (now Wallula) on the 30th. Spalding, with his wife and child, started for Wai-il-et-pu on the 24th and reached his destination on the 27th. The next day a note was received to the effect that the press and party before named had just arrived, passage having been made up the Columbia River in a canoe. On May 6th the press and escort started for Lapwai, the press on pack animals in charge of Ermatinger ; Hall and wife, and Spalding and family in a canoe, and all arrived safely at their destination late on the evening of the 13th. On the 16th the press was set up, and on May 18, 1839, the first proof sheet in the original Oregon territory was struck off. This was an occasion of great rejoicing. On the 23d it was resolved to build an adobe printing office. On the 24th the first four hundred copies of a small book in

the Nez Perce Indian language was printed. The translation was made by Mr. and Mrs. Spalding and Cornelius Rogers, a teacher in the mission, and used in manuscript form prior to the arrival of the press. On July 10th the style of alphabet was agreed upon, it having been decided to adopt the one used in the Sandwich Islands. This was done at Kamiah by Doctor and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Spalding and wife, Rev. A. B. Smith and wife, and Mr. Hall. On August 1st the printing of another book was commenced in the new alphabet, and by the 15th five hundred copies were completed. On December 30th the press was packed, with the intention of sending it to Doctor Whitman's station, Wai-il-et-pu, to print a book there. The next day it started on its journey, and that evening the pack horse fell down a precipice and it was supposed that the press was dashed to pieces. On January 1, 1840, Mr. Rogers rode to the scene of the accident, gathered all the material together and returned. By the 17th the press was again set up, and it was discovered that nothing was lost save a few type. By this experience it was found that it would be easier to send the manuscript to the press than the press to the manuscript. Printing was resumed on the 20th, and on the 28th, Mr. Hall having started for the Sandwich Islands, Mr. Rogers, who had been taught to set type and operate the press by Mr. Hall, was employed to take charge of the press and do the printing for the mission for £30, English money, per year and his board. Thereafter, so long as the mission was sustained, the usual routine of work was pursued.

It is impossible to state accurately the number of publications that were issued from this press in the Flathead, Spokane, Cayuse, and Nez Perce languages, but it is believed to have been at least a dozen. It has been my good fortune to secure four copies of these publications for the

library of the Oregon Historical Society during the past three years.

Tramp printers were not common in those early days, and but few found their way to this then comparatively unknown region. The earliest one that there is any record of was a man named Turner. One evening in 1839, soon after the press was set up at Lapwai, Mr. Spalding was standing on the banks of the Clearwater, and was surprised to hear a white man on the opposite shore call him. He paddled across the river in a canoe to the stranger and took him home. The man gave his name as above, that his home was in Canada, and that he had come from Saskatchewan on foot. Spalding, being somewhat incredulous, never learned his history. When Turner saw the printing office he said, "Now I am at home." He assisted in arranging the plant and in making pads. Mr. Spalding translated passages of the Bible and several hymns for the Sunday-school in the Nez Perce tongue, and Turner set them up. He was quite attentive to his work and remained all winter. Mr. Spalding had planned to have considerable printing done and had arranged to pay Turner wages, but he suddenly disappeared and was never heard of afterward.

The next printers to appear at Lapwai were Medare G. Foisy and Charles Saxton, both coming across the plains from Saint Louis in 1844. But little is known of Mr. Saxton, as he returned to "The States" the following year, and published a journal of his trip across the plains, giving a description of Oregon, and dwelling at length upon the importance of the country claimed by the United States upon the North Pacific coast.

Mr. Foisy was a French Canadian by birth, a son of an affluent leather merchant, and was born at Quebec in 1816. After receiving a practical education in the French schools

of his native city, at the age of sixteen he was sent to an English school in Vermont for a short time. His father desiring that he should learn the leather business, kept him about the tannery and store for eighteen months. This proving uncongenial, and having a desire to acquire a knowledge of printing, he learned the trade in a French office. Determining to acquire a knowledge of English, he left home early in 1837 and worked in a Cincinnati office a short time, then in the *Louisville Journal* office two months, and that fall went to Saint Louis, where he obtained a situation on the *Republican*, remaining until the close of 1843, when he gave up his job to prepare for the overland trip to Oregon, and arrived at Spalding's mission at Lapwai as above stated. He worked in the mission printing office nearly a year, and in December, 1845, went to French Prairie. The following spring he was elected a member of the legislative committee from Champoege County—changed to Marion County in 1850. Soon after he concluded to visit Canada, and started thither by the way of California and the Nicaragua route. On reaching California his homeward journey was temporarily given up. Here he met the northwestern limits of the Mexican war, and saw considerable active service under Fremont. For a time he was the alcalde of Monterey, and worked on the first newspaper printed in that place.² When peace was declared in February, 1848, Mr. Foisy once more started for his home, *via* Central America, but was blockaded in the port of San Blas, Mexico. Soon he was relieved by Captain Bailey of the United States Navy, and taken back to Monterey. Here he remained until after the delegates to form a state constitution were elected. In that exciting event he took an active part against the spread of slavery. The years 1849 and 1850 were for the

² *The Californian*, first issued August 15, 1846.

most part spent in the mines, and in the fall of the latter year he gave up his contemplated trip to Canada and returned to Oregon, bought a farm near the present site of Gervais, and became one of the principal farmers of that region, and was highly respected by all who knew him. He died in 1879.

The next that is known about this mission press is in June, 1846. A number of parties living at Salem, among them Dr. W. H. Willson, Joseph Holman, Mr. Robinson, Rev. David Leslie, J. B. McClane, and Rev. L. H. Judson, desiring to issue a paper, sent Mr. Alanson Hinman, then a teacher in Salem, now living in Forest Grove, on horseback to Whitman mission, to secure it for the purpose indicated. Doctor Whitman was willing that it should be used, but referred the matter to Mr. Spalding, at Lapwai, where the press was located. Mr. Hinman rode there and interviewed Mr. Spalding. He consented to have the press go to the Willamette Valley, but not without the consent of Messrs. Walker and Eells, who were at the Spokane mission. Accordingly Mr. Hinman secured an Indian guide and rode thither and obtained their permission, but was referred back to Messrs. Spalding and Whitman. Returning to Lapwai, Mr. Hinman explained the situation to Mr. Spalding, who made conditions which would give him more control over the paper than the Salem parties were willing to grant, hence they declined to take the plant. However, Mr. Spalding sent the press to Doctor Whitman, and he sent it on to Wascopum—The Dalles—where it remained until after the Whitman massacre, November 29–30, 1847. Early in March, 1848, it was transferred by Mr. Spalding to Rev. J. S. Griffin, who took it to the Tualatin Plains, near Hillsboro, and that year issued eight numbers of a sixteen-page magazine called *The Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*. As it may be of in-

terest to show the scope of this publication, the following is quoted from the prospectus in the first numbers :

It is devoted to American principles and interests,—To evangelical religion and morals,—To general intelligence, foreign and domestic,—To temperance and moral instrumentalities, generally,—To science, literature and the arts,—To commerce and internal improvements,—To agriculture and home manufactures,—To the description and development of our natural resources,—To the physical, intellectual and moral education of rising generations,—And to such well defined discussions generally, as are calculated to elevate and dignify the character of a free people.

Edited by Rev. J. S. Griffin, and printed by C. F. Putnam. Issued once in two weeks.

The editor in his introduction says :

Our list of subjects, to which we are devoted, is not so much an expression of confidence in our humble ability to treat them all successfully, as to call attention of the writers generally, each to his chosen department of interest and investigation, that all through a common medium of communication, may mutually instruct and be instructed.

The first issue was on June 7th, although it is not dated. It is evident that it did not appear as originally intended from the following apology :

A train of unavoidable has prevented our first number appearing as early as intended and its execution is by no means what may hereafter be expected.

We have much confidence in the young gentleman, Mr. Putman, our publisher, who, being disappointed in obtaining his new ink roller as expected, was left in the first number to the daubing use of a past-recovery dried ink ball. Those acquainted with the difference in the execution of the two instruments, know how to appreciate the apology.

Some typographical improvements, as well as improvements in the general execution, may be looked for.

The following is taken from the prospectus :

Terms : \$4.00 currency, or \$3.00 in cash, if paid within three months; \$4.00 cash, or \$5.00 in currency, if not paid at the end of three months; if not paid at the end of six months, discontinued at the discretion of the proprietor.

Advertisements at \$1.50 per square of sixteen lines or less, for first insertion; and 75 cents per square for each subsequent insertion. A liberal discount to yearly advertisers.

N. B.—Companies of ten subscribers may pay in merchantable wheat at merchant prices, delivered at any time (giving us notice), at any principal depot for wheat in the several counties, being themselves responsible for its storage and delivery to our order. Duebills issued by solvent merchants taken at their currency value.

We will not declare our days of issuing, until the next number, hoping some mail opportunity may be secured, and if so, will issue on the day most favorable for our immediate circulation.

Much space in the magazine is given to the history of the Whitman massacre of November 29–30, 1847, by Rev. H. H. Spalding, together with a discussion pro and con of the causes leading up to it. In this discussion Peter H. Burnett, a lawyer of Oregon City, and afterwards the first governor of California, took a prominent part.

In No. 3, July 5, 1848, referring to President Polk's message, the editor says it "manifests more interest about Mexico than about Oregon."

After No. 7 was issued the paper suspended for several months. This suspension was caused, so the editor states, by some one opposed to his views on the causes leading to the Whitman massacre hiring the printer to break his contract and go off to the mines. Early in 1849 another printer³ was secured, and on May 23d, No. 8 appeared. This was the last number issued.

Fully thirty years ago Mr. Griffin placed the press in the custody of the Oregon Pioneer Association, and now it is in the possession of the Oregon Historical Society.

Rev. John Smith Griffin was born in Castleton, Vermont, in 1807. He was educated in various schools in New England and Ohio, finishing his theological course in Oberlin, where he was ordained a minister of the Congregational Church. The church at Litchfield, Connecticut, secured an equipment and sent him to Oregon in 1839 as an independent missionary to the Indians. In 1840 he endeavored to start a mission among the Snakes,

³ His name was Frank Johnson, an apprentice of the *Spectator* and afterwards of the *Free Press*, and now is a professor in the University of Chicago.

but failing he and his wife went to the Tualatin Plains in 1841 and began the first white settlement in what is now Washington County. On May 2, 1843, he was at Cham-poeg, and voted in favor of the first civil government in Oregon. He was pastor of the first church in Washington County for a time. He died in February, 1899.

Charles F. Putnam, printer, was born in Lexington, Kentucky, July 7, 1824. He learned the printing trade in New York City, and in 1846 came to Oregon, settling in Polk County. In 1847 he was married to Miss Rozelle, the eldest daughter of Jesse Applegate, who came to Oregon from Missouri in 1843. When he contracted with Mr. Griffin to print his paper, he taught his wife to set type, and thus she became the first woman typesetter on the Pacific Coast. Mr. Putnam left the Willamette Valley for Umpqua Valley in the fall of 1849, and settled near Mount Yoncalla. He is still living, though quite feeble, near the town of Drain.

Early in 1844 it became evident to the leading spirits of the infant settlement at Oregon City that its interests would be greatly promoted by a press, and accordingly, after much discussion as to methods of management, the Oregon Printing Association was organized, the officers of which were as follows: W. G. T'Vault, president; J. W. Nesmith, vice president; John P. Brooks, secretary; George Abernethy, treasurer; Robert Newell, John E. Long, and John R. Couch, directors. The press used was a Washington hand press, bed twenty-five by thirty-eight inches. The plant was procured in New York through the instrumentality of Governor George Abernethy, although he was reimbursed by the Printing Association in due time.

The constitution of the association was as follows:

In order to promote science, temperance, morality, and general intelligence; to establish a printing press; to publish a monthly, semi-

monthly or weekly paper in Oregon—the undersigned do hereby associate ourselves together in a body, to be governed by such rules and regulations as shall, from time to time, be adopted by a majority of the stockholders of this compact in a regularly called and properly notified meeting.

The “Articles of Compact” numbered XI; all but the eighth article refer to the method of doing business, and are similar in their provisions to the by-laws of our incorporations of to-day. The eighth article touched vitally the editor’s duties, and is as follows :

ART. 8. The press owned by or in connection with this association shall never be used by any party for the purpose of propagating sectarian principles or doctrines, nor for the discussion of exclusive party politics.

The Printing Association was jealous of the editorial control of the paper. Provision was made for amending all articles except the eighth. The shares of stock were \$10 each, and article ten provides for the method of transferring the same; also the distribution of dividends—an emergency that never occurred; and in that respect the experience of the first newspaper men of the Pacific Coast was not unlike that of some of their brethren of these later days. The name selected for their paper was the *Oregon Spectator*, and it was first issued at Oregon City on Thursday, February 5, 1846. The motto was “Westward the Star of Empire takes its Way.” The printer was John Fleming, who came to Oregon in the immigration of 1844.

The size of the *Spectator* page at first was eleven and one half by seventeen inches, with four pages, four columns to the page, and was issued semimonthly. The first editor was Col. William G. T’Vault, a pioneer of 1845, who was then postmaster general of the Provisional Government. His editorial salary was at the rate of \$300 a year. It is believed that he was of Scotch-Irish and French descent, and a native of Kentucky. He was a lawyer by profession, although it is said that he had had some edi-

torial experience in Arkansas. While he was an uncompromising democrat of the Jeffersonian school, and never so happy as when promulgating his principles in the most positive way, the constitution of the Printing Association made it necessary that the editor should eschew politics. However well he may have tried to do this, his efforts evidently did not please the association, because in the issue of April 2, 1846, his valedictory appears.

The contents of the first issue of *The Spectator* are as follows :

First page : Organic laws of Oregon, as recommended by the legislative committee ; an act to prevent the introduction, sale and distillation of ardent spirits, both certified to by John E. Long, secretary of the Provisional Government ; an infallible remedy for lowness of spirits ; good advice.

Second page : The editor's salutatory, defining the attitude of the paper ; to correspondents, stating that no notice can be taken of anonymous communications ; city government, saying that the time has arrived for a thorough organization, urging that it "dig up the stumps, grade the streets, tax dogs, prohibit hogs, and advertise in *The Spectator*;" calling on some of the "Old Settlers" to give an "account of the climate, soil, and productions of Oregon," stating that this "would all be news to people away east in Missouri and other states;" an item deprecating controversies ; announcement that Captain Knighton will give a ball on the 24th instant at the City Hotel ; item calling attention to F. W. Pettygrove's stock of goods ; appointments by the Governor—Wm. G. T'Vault, prosecuting attorney, *vice* M. A. Ford, and H. M. Knighton, marshal, *vice* J. L. Meek, resigned ; reference to the "Two-thirds law" of Illinois ; item relating to a serious accident to Mr. Wallace of the Oregon Milling Company as a result of coming in contact with a circular saw ; an

item on "Slander;" communication from "New Emigrant," whose "heart's desire is," among other things, "that Oregon may be saved from intemperance, and that our beloved little colony may continue free, and become great and good;" communication by David Leslie, giving a sketch of the life of Rev. Jason Lee.

Third page: A number of clippings, among them Franklin's Advice to Editors; an original poem on "Love," signed "M. J. B."—Mrs. Margaret J. Bailey; announcement of the postmaster general "To Persons Wishing to Send Letters East;" ship news, giving "The arrivals and departure from Baker's Bay, Columbia River, since March 12, 1845," showing nine arrivals and eleven departures; "List of officers of H. B. M. sloop of war Modeste, now lying at Vancouver, Columbia River;" death notice, Miss Julia Ann Stratuff, aged about fourteen years: then advertisements as follows: "Mail Contracts to Let—Route No. 1: From Oregon City to Fort Vancouver, once in two weeks, by water. Route No. 2: From Oregon City to Hill's in Twality County; thence to A. J. Hembree's in Yam Hill County; thence to Andrew Smith's by Yam Hill County; thence to N. Ford's, Polk County; thence to Oregon Institute, Champoeg County; thence to Catholic Mission and Champoeg to Oregon City, once in two weeks, on horseback. The contractor will enter into bond and security, to be approved by the postmaster general;" signed by W. G. T'Vault. A. Lawrence Lovejoy, attorney and counsellor at law and solicitor in chancery; Masonic notice to secure a charter for a lodge—the first on the Pacific Coast; signed by Joseph Hull, P. G. Stewart, and Wm. P. Dougherty. Notice of George Abernethy and Alanson Beers that they had bought the business of the Oregon Milling Company. Administrator's notice of estate of Ewing Young, signed by Lovejoy. City Hotel, H. M. Knighton, proprietor, who says "His table shall not be surpassed in the territory," and

that those "who favor him with a call from the west side of the river, will receive horse ferriage free." "The Red House and Portland" heads an advertisement three and a half inches long of F. W. Pettygrove's general merchandise store. This is the first time anything appears showing approximately the date when Portland was so named. John Travers and William Glaser announce that they have begun manufacturing hats, and will take "wool, beaver, otter, raccoon, wild-cat, muskrat, and mink skins in exchange." Notice by Pettygrove to the effect that John B. Rutter, Astoria, is wanted to take charge of a box of medicine which was consigned to him from New York. Notice of Abernethy & Beers stating their terms for grinding "merchantable wheat." Notice by C. E. Pickett that he has town lots for sale on the lower part of his claim, "just at the foot of the Clackamas rapids." Announcement of *The Spectator* terms—\$5 in advance; if not paid until the expiration of three months, \$6.

Fourth page: Post office law of the Provisional Government, approved December 23, 1845; Constitution of the Printing Association; three clippings, one entitled "The Fall of Empires," the other about "Morse's Electro-Magnetic Telegraph," and the last from the *St. Louis Democrat*, speaking of an emigrating party of the father, mother, and twenty children. The editor says "Their destination we did not learn, but think it not improbable the old man is about settling a colony in Oregon."

Colonel T'Vault was a marked character in the early history of Oregon, and he made warm friends and bitter enemies. He was chosen a member of the legislature of the Provisional Government June 4, 1846. In June, 1858, he was elected a representative to the first territorial legislature, and was chosen speaker at the special session from May 16 to June 4, 1859. In 1851 he established an express line between Winchester, on the Umpqua River, to

Yreka, California. In the years following he took an active part in the trying scenes of the Rogue River war, part of the time being a volunteer aid to Governor Joseph Lane. In 1855 he, in company with Messrs. Taylor and Blakely, established the *Umpqua Gazette* at Scottsburg, the first paper south of Salem, and moved it to Jacksonville soon after. The name was then changed to the *Table Rock Sentinel*, and it was first issued on November 24th. Soon after the paper was started it became noised abroad that T'Vault was tainted with abolitionism. This was too much for the stout-hearted old democrat, so he wrote a personal article over his own signature, denying in the most positive manner all sympathy for, or affiliation with, the abolition idea; and among other things he said that if "I thought there was one drop of abolition blood in my veins I would cut it out." That declaration was wholly satisfactory, and thereafter until the close of his life there was never any question as to his political faith. He was the principal editor of the paper, and his connection with it ceased in 1859, after the name had been changed to the *Oregon Sentinel*. His next editorial experience was in 1863, when he issued the *Intelligencer* in Jacksonville from the plant of the *Civilian*, then defunct. This enterprise failed in a few months, and was his last effort in journalism. He remained in Southern Oregon until the close of his life, having something of a law practice, and died from an attack of smallpox early in 1869.

At this point it is not out of place to give the personnel of the other members of the Printing Association as far as possible. James Willis Nesmith came to Oregon from Maine in 1843, at the age of twenty-three; in 1845 he was elected supreme judge of Oregon under the Provisional Government; in 1848, captain in the Cayuse Indian war; in 1853, captain in the Rogue-river Indian war; in 1855-1856 colonel in the Yakima Indian war; in 1857 he was

appointed superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon and Washington, and held that position two years; in 1860 he was a candidate for presidential elector on the Douglas democratic ticket; that fall he was elected United States senator; in 1873 he was elected a member of Congress. He filled every position with conspicuous ability. He died June 17, 1885.

John P. Brooks taught the first school of any kind in Oregon City, under the patronage of the late Sidney W. Moss, in the year 1844-45; when he came to Oregon is not known. In the late forties and early fifties he was in business at Oregon City. He died many years ago, date unknown.

George Abernethy was at the head of the Provisional Government. He was born in New York in 1807, and came to Oregon in 1840. He had much to do with large milling and mercantile enterprises, and died in 1877.

Robert Newell was a typical "mountain man," and spent many years of his early life on the frontier in trapping. He was born at Zanesville, Ohio, in 1807. He came to Oregon in 1840 and brought a wagon from Fort Hall to Doctor Whitman's mission—the first to arrive there, and he brought it on to the Willamette Valley, making it the first wagon in Western Oregon. He was at Champoege on May 2, 1843, and voted for civil government. He died at Lewiston, Idaho, in 1869.

John H. Couch was born at Newburyport, Massachusetts, February 21, 1811. In 1840 he brought the brig *Maryland* into the Columbia River, and up the Willamette to Oregon City. He made a second trip to the Columbia in 1843, and soon after engaged in the mercantile business at Oregon City. In 1845 he located a donation land claim near the then townsite of Portland, all of which was included within the corporate limits of that city many years ago. He was the treasurer of the Provisional Government,

and held a number of places of trust in the city of his adoption. As early as October, 1849, in company with Benjamin Stark, he did a banking business in Portland, in addition to general merchandising. He died in January, 1870.

John Fleming, the first printer of the *Spectator*, came to Oregon from Ohio. He was appointed postmaster in 1856, and held that office until 1869. He died at that place December 2, 1872, aged seventy-eight years.

In glancing through the pages of the *Spectator* numerous references are made to the primitive conditions then existing, some of which are here given.

As postmaster general Colonel T'Vault was compelled to conduct affairs on an economical basis. Fifty dollars was appropriated by the legislature of 1845 to establish a post office department. Accordingly, in February, 1846, post offices and postmasters were appointed in the several counties south of the Columbia River, and full instructions published concerning their respective duties. The rates between any Oregon post office and Weston, Missouri, were fifty cents for a single sheet. Nine months later the postmaster general declined further responsibility in the matter of mail service; stating that the mail had been carried for three quarters, but the receipts had been insufficient to pay for the transportation of the mail for one quarter.

In the *Spectator* of April 16, 1846, the name of Henry A. G. Lee appears as editor. He was the choice of the Printing Association at the beginning, but he wanted a salary of \$600, and that was considered too high. At this date there were one hundred and fifty-five subscribers, but an editorial item says there ought to be five hundred in the existing population. Lee's connection with the paper ceased with the issue of August 6, 1846.

Mr. Lee deserves more than a passing mention. He

was a native of Virginia, and descended from Richard Lee, founder of the Old Dominion family of that name. He was well educated and prepared himself for the ministry, but did not follow that profession because some doubts arose in his mind as to the inspiration of the Bible. He came to Oregon in 1843 and spent the first winter at Wai-il-et-pu. He was a man of much more than average ability, but very reticent when speaking of himself or family. In December, 1847, he assisted in raising the first company of volunteers to punish the Cayuse Indians for the murder of Dr. Marcus Whitman, his wife, and twelve others, and was elected captain. Soon after he was promoted to major, and a little later appointed peace commissioner. Not long after that he was chosen colonel of the regiment to succeed Col. Cornelius Gilliam, who lost his life by an accident, but returned his commission because he thought it should be given to Lieut. Col. James Waters. When the war was ended he was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs by Governor George Abernethy, and rendered good service in treating with the Indians. After that duty was performed he went to the California gold mines and was successful. Upon returning, he brought a stock of goods, and formed a copartnership with S. W. Moss, having already been married to his daughter. In the fall of 1850 he went to New York with a large sum of money, to buy more goods, and on his return trip he had an attack of the Panama fever, which caused his death. If he had lived to return he doubtless would have figured largely in the political affairs of the then young territory.

In the *Spectator* of July 9, 1846, there is a full account of the first 4th of July celebration in Oregon, and probably on the Pacific Coast. Thirteen regular toasts were given, and the last one is in these words: "The American ladies—accomplished, beautiful, and useful. If every

Oregonian swain was possessed of one, we could exclaim, 'Oregon is safe under the Stars and Stripes.'” This was really true at the time, the treaty fully making Oregon a part of the United States having been signed June 15th preceding; but it was not known in Oregon until November 12th following, and then the news was brought by Benjamin Stark on a sailing vessel from Sandwich Islands. The oration was delivered by Peter H. Burnett, a pioneer of 1843, afterward the first governor of California, elected as such by the vote of Oregonians who had gone with him to the mines, and who held the balance of power there.

On September 17, 1846, reference is made to a memorial prepared by Capt. George Wilkes on the subject of a national railroad between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, presented to Congress in December, 1845, asking the legislature to indorse it.

From August 6th to October 1, 1846, John Fleming, the printer, edited the *Spectator*. Then George L. Curry, fresh from Saint Louis by way of the plains, having come by the southern route through the famous Cow Creek Canyon, being with the first immigrant party that ever entered the Oregon territory from that direction, was installed as editor. Among other things he proposed to do was to give the paper a “firm and consistent American tone.” In this number the war with Mexico is foreshadowed.

In the issue of September 5th, Mr. Curry speaks in high terms of the many conditions of Oregon society, and among other things says:

We feel unfeigned pleasure in announcing to the world that the social, moral, political, and religious state of society in Oregon is at least as elevated and enlightened as can be witnessed in any of the territorial or frontier settlements east of the Rocky Mountains.

He admits, however, that the people may be behind hand in the matter of good clothes. To offset this they are congratulated upon having but few *real loafers* among them.

For the next eleven months but little is known about the paper, except that Mr. Curry was the editor. The printer was changed, John Fleming retiring, and N. W. Colwell, who also came in 1845, taking his place.

In the issue of October 15, 1846, it is announced that a roll of the *Spectator's* subscribers was called, but as they did not answer *paid*, according to the necessary requirements in every well regulated newspaper office, the sufferings of all connected with the establishment were made intolerable.

On September 2, 1847, Mr. Curry apologizes for the lack of editorial matter by saying that he had gone to climb Mount Hood. Two weeks later it is apparent that the trip was not successful. At this time the printer was W. P. Hudson, who came to Oregon in 1846, Mr. Colwell having retired. He had been the printer for several months, and in addition to printing the paper, printed a spelling book, the first English book issued on the Pacific Coast. This bore the date of February 1, 1847. During the fall of that year Mr. Hudson printed an almanac—the first on the Pacific Coast—for the year 1848. This was compiled by Henry H. Everts. Through this source it is learned that there were eight counties in the territory—Clackamas, Champoeg, Tualatin, Yamhill, Polk, Clatsop, Vancouver, and Lewis—their area being all of the territory now included in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and those parts of Montana and Wyoming west of the Rocky Mountains. This was a publication of twenty-four pages, five by seven inches, and in addition to the twelve usual calendar pages and remarks on astronomical matters, it contained a list of the officers of the Provisional Govern-

ment, the members of the legislature, lists of officers for each county, times and places of holding courts, a list of the officers of the United States in Oregon, and in addition the following interesting information : Public debt, October 1, 1847, \$3,243.31 ; population, same date, about six thousand ; vote for governor on the first Monday in June, 1847, one thousand and seventy-four ; immigration now beginning to arrive, about three thousand ; estimated annual value of imports and exports, about \$130,000 ; estimated amount of wheat raised in the territory for the last two years, about one hundred and fifty thousand bushels each year. After the calendar pages the following appears : Summary of the Mexican war ; Agricultural ; Table of Important Scientific Discoveries and Inventions from 2224 B. C. to 1844 A. D. ; a few paragraphs upon the value of correct habits ; a short poem in blank verse on "Charity;" and an eight-line rhyme entitled a "Receipt for a Wife."

Mr. Hudson went to the gold mines in the fall of 1848. He soon found a rich gulch from which he dug \$21,000. He then returned to Oregon, but did not remain long. He took passage by sailing vessel for San Francisco in December, 1850, and died at sea while on the way thither.

While not strictly connected with the newspaper history of Oregon, it is not out of place to give a brief account of the spelling book above referred to.

It was an abridgment of the old Webster's Elementary Spelling Book, and was about two thirds the size of the original, the long words and quaint illustrations in the back being omitted. As this was practically a foreign country at that time, the printer was not particularly sensitive about violating the copyright law. After this book was printed the question of binding became a serious one, there being no binder in the settlement, so far

as known. With the immigration of 1846 there came a bookbinder, who some time after his arrival went to Oregon City. His name was Carlos W. Shane, and he had learned his trade in the Methodist Book Concern, Cincinnati, where he had been employed a number of years prior to coming to Oregon. Instinctively gravitating toward the printing office, he discovered the unbound sheets and was awarded the job of binding them. Improvising such implements as he needed, with the crude material at hand, he bound up the edition, numbering eight hundred copies, which was soon absorbed by the primitive schools then existing. For years effort has been made to secure a copy of this book, but so far without success. I have, however, obtained a fragment of the book, probably twenty pages. These I found in a farmhouse garret near Oregon City, about eight years ago, where it had been placed, doubtless, by the original owner of the place, the late M. M. McCarver, a pioneer of 1843, with other old documents, more than forty years before. More than a dozen years ago the whereabouts of a perfect copy was discovered, but upon further investigation it proved that this book, a number of early newspaper files, a lot of miscellaneous letters, all of undoubted historic value, had been considered "worthless trash," and burned. Mr. Shane taught a number of the very early schools in Clackamas County, was something of a rhymester, and a frequent contributor of verse as well as prose to the press of the early days. He was a man of fine clerical ability, and for many years followed conveyancing. He died at Vancouver, Washington, in 1901.

In due time the censorship exercised by the printing association over his utterances on the editorial pages of the *Spectator* caused Mr. Curry to resign his position early in 1848.

Mr. Curry was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on

July 2, 1820. From 1824 to 1829 he lived with his parents in Caracas, South America. On returning to the United States, the family settled in Boston. At the age of eleven he was apprenticed to a jeweler. One of his fellow-workmen was the late Hon. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania. All spare moments were employed in study and reading. He developed literary tastes quite early, and read original poems and delivered addresses before the Mechanics' Apprentice Library in Boston, of which he was a member and president for two years. He became a resident of Saint Louis in 1843, where he formed an acquaintance with Joseph M. Field, the actor and manager, father of Miss Kate Field, and with him published the *Reveille*. In 1846 he started to Oregon, arriving at Oregon City August 30th. After leaving the *Spectator* he bought about eighty pounds of type from the Catholic missionaries and determined to start an opposition paper.

It was difficult for Mr. Curry to decide upon a name, and he sought advice from Peter G. Stewart, a personal friend. "Why," said the latter, "since you don't want to be muzzled, why not call it the *Free Press*?" The suggestion pleased Mr. Curry, and the name was adopted. The motto was the following:

"Here shall the Press the people's rights maintain,
Unawed by influence, and unbribed by gain."

Having no press he caused one to be made, mainly out of wood—a rude affair. The type, having been used to print the French language, had but few letter w's. The editor had to write without double u's, but the country and its inhabitants were too weird and wild and wonderful, and his own fancy too warm, and his ways too winning for him not to be willing to wield a pen as free and untrammelled as were his surroundings; so he whittled a number of w's out of hard wood to supply the deficiency.

This feature gave the paper an unique appearance, and was really one of its attractions. The first issue of this paper was in March, 1848. It contained four pages, seven and one half by fifteen inches, two columns to the page. During this month Mr. Curry was married to Miss Chloe Boone, daughter of Col. Alphonso Boone, a great grandson of Daniel Boone. In October, 1848, the paper stopped, mainly because of the rush of people to the mines. In 1853 Mr. Curry was appointed secretary of the territory by President Pierce, and soon became acting governor. He was appointed governor in November, 1854, and held that office until 1859, when the state government was formed. It was during his administration that the Yakima Indian war of 1855-56 was fought. On January 1, 1861, he became a partner and coeditor with S. J. McCormick in the *Portland Daily Advertiser*, and continued that relation until the paper suspended about two years later. The *Advertiser* was the second daily in Portland and was issued by S. J. McCormick on May 31, 1859.⁴ After the *Advertiser* died Mr. Curry remained in private life until he died on July 28, 1878, aged fifty-eight years.

The earliest perfect copy of the *Oregon Free Press* that is known bears the date of August 26, 1848. Its contents are as follows :

Page one : Comparisons between the London and Paris daily press. This shows the largest circulation of a newspaper in London to be twenty-nine thousand and in Paris, thirty-three thousand. The price of the Paris dailies runs from \$7.25 to \$21 ; the *London Times* is nearly \$32 per annum ; California exports and imports ; an article on "Poverty ;" general news items.

⁴The first daily newspaper in Oregon was the *Portland Daily News*, issued April 18, 1859, by S. A. English and Wm. B. Taylor. Its first editor was Alonzo Leland, but his services were soon dispensed with and E. D. Shattuck became the editor. The paper in the beginning had four pages, each ten and one half by fifteen inches, with four columns.

Page two: Local news items about Oregon, exports to Sandwich Islands, burning of Indian houses, a stabbing affray, a communication relating to the distribution of arms and ammunition by the Catholic missionaries among the Indians, report of a meeting preliminary to organizing a medical society; latest foreign intelligence by way of a paper from the City of Mexico, announcing among other things, the escape of Louis Philippe, and news from The Dalles, inquiring into the reason why so much ammunition is being distributed by priests among the Indians. Then follows the advertisements: Notice is given that a meeting will be held at Lafayette to organize an association to protect land claims; John Cooper says he is about to start overland to California with pack animals; Holderness & Company are ready to pay cash for produce; F. W. Pettygrove & Company, at Oregon City, Portland, and Champoege plead for business—the company being A. E. Wilson and David McLoughlin.

Page four: An original poem, "A Poor Man's Thoughts;" three miscellaneous items; notice of W. B. Chatfield as administrator of Joel Wilcox; Couch and Crosby's announcement that they have just received a stock of new goods at their stores in Oregon City and Portland; the appeal of H. Clark for business on the plea that he has opened a new store on Main street, Oregon City; the proclamation of S. W. Moss that his Main Street Hotel is the largest and most commodious public house in Oregon, "where the public are entertained free of charge, because the proprietor always takes pay in hand;" the announcement of Kilborn, Lawton & Company, as commission merchants; C. L. Ross, proprietor of the "New York Store," San Francisco; P. G. Stewart, clock and watchmaker, the first in Oregon; and the medical card of Doctor Carpenter.

On February 10, 1848, the *Spectator* was enlarged to twenty-four columns and Aaron E. Wait, a native of

Massachusetts, born on December 13, 1813, who had arrived the previous September, became the editor, having been employed by Governor Abernethy. He desired to make the paper a medium of communication acceptable to all, of whatever political or sectarian preference. By this time the rule of the Printing Association had been modified to some extent. Mr. Wait edited a democratic paper in Michigan in 1844, during the exciting political campaign of that year, and had the power of quickly adapting himself to circumstances—an indispensable requirement in newspaper work. The first news from the democratic national convention in that eventful year gave the names of Hon. Mr. Blank and Hon. Mr. Blank as the successful nominees. Mr. Wait wrote the accustomed editorial congratulating the people upon the ability of the chosen standard bearers, and promising his heartiest support and placing the names at the masthead. After the paper had gone to press the news came that Polk and Dallas had secured the nominations. Mr. Wait hurried to the office, caused the latter names to be inserted, and the press was started again. What he had written in the first place answered for the last candidates as well.

In those early days it was as common to slur Oregon weather as it is nowadays, for, on December 14th, Editor Wait takes exception to it, and, among other things, says: "For the year ending November 30th there have been 240 clear days, 25 days on which it rained or snowed all day, and 101 days on which it rained, hailed, snowed, or was cloudy part of the day."

The only exchanges of the *Spectator* at this time were one at Honolulu, and two small papers in California, one in San Francisco and the other at Monterey, which were brought semi-occasionally by vessels. Papers and letters arrived from the "States" once a year. Thus, it may be

seen, that an editor in those days must have been a man of resources.

On September 7th the *Spectator* suspended, the printer, John Fleming, going to the mines. Publication was resumed on October 12th, with S. Bentley, printer. At this date the editor apologizes as follows :

The *Spectator*, after a temporary sickness, greets its patrons, and hopes to serve them faithfully, and as heretofore, regularly. That "gold fever," which has swept about three thousand of the officers, lawyers, physicians, farmers, and mechanics of Oregon, from the plains of Oregon into the mines of California, took away our printer also—hence the temporary non-appearance of the *Spectator*.

In 1848 Judge Wait drew the deed by which Francis W. Pettygrove conveyed the Portland townsite of six hundred and forty acres to Daniel H. Lownsdale, the consideration being \$5,000 in leather.

With the issue of February 22, 1849, Mr. Wait's connection with the paper ceased. During the Cayuse war, 1847-48, Mr. Wait was assistant commissary general. Prior to leaving Massachusetts he had studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Michigan in 1841. At the first election after Oregon became a state—1859—he was elected one of the judges of the supreme court, and was chief justice for four years. At the close of his official career he resumed his law practice and continued until he acquired a competency, when he retired, although still retaining an active interest in public affairs, and frequently contributing to the press. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-five, and died in 1898.

Soon after Mr. Wait's connection with the *Spectator* was ended, it suspended publication. On October 4, 1849, it again appeared with Rev. Wilson Blain, a clergyman of the United Presbyterian Church, as editor, and George B.

Goudy,⁵ printer. On February 7, 1850, the paper was reduced to sixteen columns on account of a shortage in the paper supply. On April 18, 1850, Robert Moore, then proprietor of Linn City, opposite Oregon City, became owner, Blain being retained as editor. In this issue he says :

We find the opinion that Oregon should be immediately erected into a state much more prevalent than we had anticipated, * * and we feel impelled to warmly urge it on public attention. * * Time was when Oregon enjoyed a large share of public attention, * * but things have greatly changed in the last two years. Oregon has passed almost entirely into the shade. * * We rarely see Oregon mentioned in the papers received from the States, while California, Deseret, and New Mexico engrossed a very considerable part of public attention.

On July 11th the size was increased to twenty columns and on July 25th to twenty-four columns. In this issue appears a prospectus of *The Oregon Statesman*. After stating what it is going to be in religion, in morals, and in politics, which it says will be democratic,—the prospectus goes on to say that “*The Statesman* will be 116 inches larger than *The Spectator*,” and places the subscription price at the lowest mark—\$7 per annum, and \$4 for six months. It was to be published weekly at Oregon City by Henry Russell and A. W. Stockwell. *The Spectator* of August 8th contains the announcement that a whig journal—*The Oregonian*—is to be published at Portland by T. J. Dryer, a “stump speaker of power and a pungent writer.” On September 5th Blain ended his career as editor.

Mr. Blain was born in Ross County, Ohio, February 28, 1813. He was graduated at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, in 1835. He completed the full course of study at the Associate Reformed Theological Seminary at Alle-

⁵ George B. Goudy came to Oregon in 1849. In 1852 he worked on the *Oregonian*. In 1853 he went to Olympia, and soon after became one of the publishers of the *Pioneer and Democrat*. In 1855-56, during the Yakima war, he commanded Company “C,” of which H. W. Scott, now of the *Oregonian*, was a member. Mr. Goudy died September 19, 1857, at Olympia; in his 29th year.

gheny, Pennsylvania, was licensed to preach by the first presbytery of Ohio on April 18, 1838, and was ordained by the presbytery of Chillicothe, Ohio, October 17, 1839. He had pastoral charge of the congregation at Hebron, Indiana, until May 15, 1847, when he began preparing for the journey to Oregon as a missionary. He started on May 8, 1848, and arrived at Oregon City on November 29th. Soon afterwards he organized a small church—the first of his denomination in Oregon. On June 6, 1849, he was elected to the upper branch of the first territorial legislature. In November, 1850, Mr. Blain removed to Union Point, Linn County, and organized a church over which he was installed pastor in 1853. He was a prime mover in the organization of the United Presbyterian Church there. He established an academy at Union Point, in which he was manager and teacher until 1856. These exacting duties, in connection with his ministry, injured his health, and he died on February 22, 1861.

On September 12, the *Spectator* was first issued weekly with D. J. Schnebly, as editor, and the subscription price raised to \$7 per annum.

On September 26th the paper was again reduced to sixteen columns, and the editor says:

This is a matter of perplexity to us and a great disappointment to our subscribers; but it is a matter over which we have no control. A large supply is expected soon, as it has been seven months on the way from New York.

On October 17th the former size is resumed, and the names of John Fleming and T. F. McElroy appear as printers; and on the 31st the editor, in acknowledging the gift of a chair, says that it is the "first one that has been in the sanctum for seven weeks, and that the donors have a few more left at the rate of \$30 per dozen."

On November 28th there appeared an advertisement for a railroad from "Milton and St. Helens to LaFayette,"

and the enterprise is referred to as a "Brilliant Chance for Investment," and in the opinion of "competent judges" the cost is estimated at \$500,000. The advertisement goes on to say that "From the unusual amount of stock taken abroad, and from the fact that every possible arrangement has been made for its speedy completion, it is confidently believed that the work will be finished in six months." The advertisement is signed by W. H. Tappan, St. Helens, and Crosby & Smith, Milton. An "N. B." is added to the notice in which it is stated, in italics, that "It is almost useless to add that the terminus of this road should be at a point that can be reached with safety by large vessels at any season and at any stage of the river"—a thrust at the pretensions of the village of Portland to be a commercial point.

Beginning with Vol. VI, No. 1, September 9, 1851, Mr. Schnebly became owner of the *Spectator*. In November following he secured C. P. Culver as associate editor. At this time T. F. McElroy and C. W. Smith were the printers. A few weeks later T. D. Watson and G. D. R. Boyd became the printers. In the issue of November 25th Mr. Schnebly complains bitterly because there is only a semimonthly mail between Oregon City and Portland. On February 3, 1852, the *Spectator* became for the first time a distinctively political journal, and espoused the cause of the whig party. On March 16, 1852, it was suspended, and did not resume business until August 19, 1853. After this date the paper was not well supported, and gradually it grew weaker and weaker, and finally was sold by Mr. Schnebly to C. L. Goodrich, late in 1854, and was permanently suspended in March, 1855.

Soon afterwards the plant was sold to W. L. Adams, a pioneer of 1847, for \$1,200. He used it in starting the *Oregon City Argus*, which was issued on April 21, 1855, and was the first distinctively republican paper in Oregon,

if not on the Pacific Coast. Prior to this time he had become well known as a teacher, and as a forcible political writer and speaker. He wrote in the *Oregonian* over the signature of "Junius," and was the author of a locally famous political satire entitled "Brakespear: or Treason, Stratagems, and Spoils." This was published in the *Oregonian* of February 14 and 21, and March 6 and 13, 1852, and afterwards printed in pamphlet form, and illustrated with a number of rude cartoons—the first attempt of the kind in the territory—which added spice to the text.

The leading democrats of that day, among them Judge Matthew P. Deady, Judge O. C. Pratt, Asahel Bush, editor of the *Oregon Statesman*, John Orvis Waterman, editor of the *Oregon Weekly Times*, Col. William M. King, and Gen. Joseph Lane, were mercilessly caricatured. All were veiled under fictitious names, but the peculiarities and characteristics of each one were so aptly described that the disguises did not hide their identity.

Mr. Adams was born in Painesville, Ohio, on February 5, 1821, both parents emigrating from Vermont to Ohio when it was a wilderness. On his father's side he is connected with the Adams' family of Massachusetts, and his mother, whose name was Allen, descended from Ethan Allen of Ticonderoga fame. He went to school at the academy in Milan, Ohio, for a time, and obtained through his own efforts a classical education at Bethany College, Virginia. He came to Oregon in 1848, and the first thing he did, after locating a claim in Yamhill County, was to join with his neighbors in building a schoolhouse, wherein he taught the children of the settlers during the following winter.

As a master of cutting invective he was rarely equalled and never surpassed. His proficiency in this direction, together with similiar qualifications on the part of two of his territorial contemporaries, gave rise to what was lo-

cally known as the "Oregon Style." He was fearless and audacious to the fullest degree, had the pugnacity of a bulldog, never happier than when lampooning his opponents, and his efforts were untiring. He was one of the leading spirits in organizing the republican party in Oregon, and on February 11, 1857, at the "Free State Republican Convention," held in Albany, was appointed chairman of a committee of three to prepare an address to the people of the Territory of Oregon. As a reward for diligent efforts as a speaker and writer in the arduous campaign closing on November 6, 1860, by which Oregon was carried for Lincoln by a small plurality, he received the appointment of collector of customs, being Lincoln's first appointee for Oregon. He then retired from the *Argus*, but during his residence in Astoria edited the *Marine Gazette* for a time, and ever since has been a frequent contributor to the press of the state. In 1868-69 he made a trip to South America, and late in the latter year returned to the United States and delivered a series of lectures. In 1873 he studied medicine in Philadelphia, and 1875 began its practice in Portland. A few years later he removed to Hood River, where he still lives, now in his eighty-third year, as full of fire and fight as he was forty years ago.

Before passing from the *Argus*, mention should be made of his foreman and all round right-hand man—David Watson Craig. He was born near Maysville, Kentucky, July 25, 1830. His mother was Euphemia Early, a second cousin of Jubal Early, who became a noted Confederate general during the civil war. His parents removed to Palmyra, Missouri, in 1839, and to Hannibal, Missouri, in 1841. On May 25th, that year, he became an apprentice on the *Hannibal Journal*. One of the typesetters was Orion Clemens, a brother of Samuel L. Clemens, better known by his pen name, "Mark Twain." (Mark, him-

self, learned the printing business in the same office.) Serving an apprenticeship of four and a half years, young Craig went to Illinois and worked at Quincy, Peoria, and Springfield, remaining at the latter place four years, as an employé of the *Illinois State Journal*, edited by Simeon Francis,⁶ and served in various capacities as compositor, reporter, editorial writer, and telegraph operator. While in Hannibal, Craig began reading law, and all spare moments in Springfield were thus employed, part of the time in Lincoln & Herndon's office. In due time he passed a rigid examination, B. S. Edwards, John T. Stewart, and Abraham Lincoln being his examining committee, and was licensed on September 15, 1850, the license being signed by S. H. Treat, chief justice, and Lyman Trumbull, associate justice. He practiced law as occasion offered, and performed editorial work on the *Journal* until the latter part of 1852. He then went to Washington, spending the winter, and in the spring of 1853 started for Oregon *via* the Isthmus. He remained at Panama a few months, acting as foreman of the *Panama Daily Star*. He soon went to San Francisco, but only remained a little while, when he started for Oregon, and arrived in the Columbia River November 25, 1853. He soon found his way to Salem, and sought employment of Asahel Bush, then proprietor of the *Oregon Statesman*, on which paper he worked for a short time. Unable to get permanent employment with Mr. Bush, he had to seek other fields, and hence began teaching school. It was while thus engaged that Mr. Adams sent for him to act as his fore-

⁶Simeon Francis was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, May 14, 1796. He served an apprenticeship in a New Haven printing office, and in 1824 published a paper in New London for a time. Then he removed to Buffalo, New York, and published *The Emporium*. In 1831 he removed to Springfield, Illinois, and in connection with three brothers began the publication of the *Sangamo Journal*, afterwards changed to the *Illinois State Journal*, and remained with it until 1857. In 1841 he was appointed Indian agent for Oregon by President Harrison, but after making all the needed preparations for the trip, he resigned.

man, in the spring of 1855. He became proprietor of the *Argus* on April 16, 1859, retaining Mr. Adams as editor until October 24, 1863, at which time the *Statesman*, mainly owned by Bush and James W. Nesmith, the latter United States senator, and the *Argus* were consolidated, and the publication continued under the name of *The Statesman*, by an incorporation known as the Oregon Printing and Publishing Company, composed of J. W. P. Huntington, Benjamin Simpson, Rufus Mallory, Chester N. Terry, George H. Williams, and D. W. Craig, with Clark P. Crandall as editor. In time Craig acquired a majority of the stock, and in 1866 sold the paper to Benjamin Simpson, and his sons, Sylvester C. and Samuel L. Simpson, became the editors. Simpson afterwards sold to W. A. McPherson and William Morgan, the owners of the *Unionist*, and on December 31, 1866, it was merged into that paper, the name of the *Statesman* being dropped. Eighteen months later Huntington acquired control of the *Unionist*, and published the same up to the time of his death, in the spring of 1869, when the plant was bought at administrator's sale by S. A. Clarke, and the name *The Statesman* again adopted. In the merging of the *Argus* into the *Statesman* in 1863, an extra plant was acquired, most of which, aside from the press, was sold to an association of printers in Portland, who began publishing the *Daily Union*, with W. Lair Hill as editor. The press was acquired by H. R. Kincaid, who began publishing the *State Journal*, Eugene, in December, 1863; and in this office, to-day, may be found the original press of the *Spectator*, not much the worse for its almost constant use since February 5, 1846—fifty-six years. Thus may be seen the connection between the *Spectator* of February 5, 1846, with the *Oregon Statesman* of to-day.

Before taking up the story of the next paper, in chronological order, a few words may be said about the first

election tickets printed in Oregon. In a letter recently discovered, dated "Oregon City, Willamette Falls, O. T., 27th June, 1845," written to "Samuel Wilson, Esq., Reading, Cincinnati, Ohio, Politeness of Dr. White," it being carried by Dr. Elijah White from Oregon City to the nearest post office, which was in Missouri, J. W. Nesmith, in speaking of the supreme judge of Oregon, says: "I received the nomination of the Champoege convention and ran for the office at the election which took place on the first Tuesday of the present month, at which I received the unanimous vote of the whole territory, happening to be on all the tickets, two of which I send you enclosed, which were printed for Champoege County. They are the first tickets printed in Oregon. You should preserve them as curiosities." Now, the question is, where were these tickets printed? Not at Oregon City, because the *Spectator* plant had not yet arrived; probably at the mission press at Lapwai, on the Clearwater, about four hundred miles distant by the most direct route of that day.

The second and third papers in the Territory of Oregon, the *Free Press* and the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*, having already been referred to, I will pass to the fourth. This was the *Western Star*, first issued at Milwaukie by Lot Whitcomb, November 21, 1850, with John Orvis Waterman and William Davis Carter, printers, the first of the two being the editor. These young men were thorough printers, and learned their trade in Montpelier, Vermont, from whence they came to California in 1849, and to Oregon early in 1850. Lot Whitcomb was a native of Vermont, and the founder of Milwaukie.

This paper was twenty-four by thirty-four inches in size, with twenty-four columns, with a good assortment of display type for advertising and job work, and was democratic in politics. In May, 1851, Portland having begun

to lead Milwaukie in growth, the paper was moved away from the latter place between two days, during the last week of the month, whereat Whitcomb and the Milwaukie people generally were much incensed. At the time it was charged that Waterman and Carter stole the plant, but as a matter of fact, Whitcomb, owing his printers more than he could conveniently pay, had given them a bill of sale of the whole establishment, and they had a right to do as they pleased with it. They took it away at night on a flatboat to save time, avoid an open collision, and all further controversy. In this connection it may be of interest to note that with *The Star*, Dr. Oliver W. Nixon, for more than twenty-five years past the literary editor of the *Inter-Ocean*, Chicago, began his newspaper career, by assisting in the midnight adventure above described. He was an Oregon pioneer of 1850, and in 1851 taught school at Milwaukie. Afterwards he was purser on the steamer *Lot Whitcomb*.

The *Star* of March 19, 1851, states that a paper is about to be started at Salem by Joseph S. Smith, to be called the *Salem Recorder*. On the 27th No. 1, Vol. I, of the *Oregon Statesman* was received, and in commenting upon it Editor Waterman says: "We should judge from the style of the leaders that the editor had been dining on pickles and case knives since the adjournment of the legislature."

After going to Portland the name *Western Star* was dropped and on June 5, 1851, the paper came out under the name of *Oregon Weekly Times*. Waterman and Carter were the proprietors until June 13, 1853, when Carter sold to Waterman, who continued it until May 29, 1854. He then sold to Messrs. W. D. Carter and R. D. Austin, but retained editorial control until November 8, 1856. Some time after that Mr. Waterman was elected probate judge of Multnomah County, or Washington, as it was then, and later he practiced law for a time. The closing

years of his life were spent in school work, sometimes in teaching and sometimes as county superintendent. He died at Cascades, Skamania County, Washington, a number of years ago.

The *Times* continued to be democratic, with Carter and Austin proprietors. In May, 1859, Carter sold his interest to Austin and retired from journalism. He continued work as a journeyman printer until December, 1864, when he established a small job office, which he sold five years later to the writer. He worked as a journeyman about twenty-five years. Then advancing age compelled him to retire, and he died in this city in 1898.

Austin continued the publication of the *Times*, and on December 19, 1860, started a daily, the third in Portland. In 1861 he made it a union paper, supporting the nominees of that party composed of the republican and Douglas democrats. Austin was not a man given to "diligence in business." He was a "good-fellow," hail-fellow well met with all, and was passionately fond of playing the violin. On this account he was much in demand at balls and parties. This caused more or less inattention to business, and by the early part of 1864 the paper suspended. Mr. Austin died in Portland about nineteen years ago. Among the editors of the *Times*, in its later years, were Henry Shipley, E. C. Hibben, A. S. Gould, W. N. Walton, the late A. C. Gibbs, afterward the war governor of Oregon, and W. Lair Hill, who became a prominent attorney, and is now a resident of San Francisco.

The fifth paper in Oregon was *The Weekly Oregonian*. In June, 1850, W. W. Chapman and Stephen Coffin, leading citizens of Portland, then a village of a few hundred people, and vitally interested in everything pertaining to its well being, had occasion to visit San Francisco on business, and among other things to arrange, if pos-

sible, for the publication of a newspaper. About July 4th they met Thomas J. Dryer, at that time city editor of the *California Courier*, and disclosed their plans to him. He, having a desire to engage in journalism on his own account, listened favorably to their proposals. Accordingly, a plan of operations was agreed upon, and a secondhand plant belonging to the *Alta*, the press being a Ramage No. 913, was secured and shipped on the bark Keoka on October 8th, and arrived in the Columbia River in the latter part of November following. Before leaving San Francisco an order was sent to New York for a new plant throughout, to be shipped direct to Portland. The name—*The Weekly Oregonian*—was suggested by Colonel Chapman. The paper was issued on Wednesday, December 4, 1850, and Stephen Coffin, Col. W. W. Chapman, A. P. Dennison, and W. W. Baker took the first paper by the four corners and lifted it from the press. The first number was distributed through the town by Arthur and Thomas, sons of Col. Chapman, and Henry C. Hill, a stepson of Stephen Coffin. Colonel Chapman had a man to go on horseback and deliver the first number at various points along the trail as far south as Corvallis, then Marysville, and to cross the river and return on the east side. Thus was *The Oregonian* given to the world. A. M. Berry⁷ was the first printer, and Henry Hill the first "printer's devil."

Mr. Dryer was born in Canandaigua County, New York, January 10, 1808, and was the second son of Aaron and Lucinda Dryer. His paternal grandfather was a soldier of the Revolution, and his father served in the war of 1812. His mother was a daughter of Isaac Lewis, who served

⁷ Mr. Berry was born in New Hampshire. He went to California in 1849, and came to Oregon with Mr. Dryer in 1850. He went to Olympia late in 1853, and bought an interest in the *Pioneer and Democrat*. He went to his early New England home in the summer of 1854 to make a visit, was exposed to the cholera, and died at Greenland, New Hampshire, August 1, 1854.

under Washington. The family removed to Ohio, near Cincinnati, in 1818. Thomas stayed there until 1825, when he returned to New York and remained until 1841. During the next seven years he had a mail contract, shipped beef to New Orleans, and had an interest in a steam laundry in Cincinnati, each in turn, the latter being about the only industry that he found profitable. In 1848 he went to California to mine for gold, but incidentally became connected with the *Courier*, before mentioned, as a reporter, where he was found as previously stated. Mr. Dryer was a whig, and an aggressive and spirited writer, with a dash of audacity and fearlessness which were well suited to pioneer journalism, besides being a born controversialist and an attractive public speaker. His attacks on democracy by pen and voice were bold, persistent, and denunciatory to a marked degree. The democratic journals, particularly the *Statesman*, replied in kind, and thus considerable excitement was created throughout the territory among the partisans of the respective journals when they made their appearance from week to week. The new plant of *The Oregonian*, before referred to, arrived early in April and the printed page of the paper was enlarged from fourteen and three eighths by nineteen inches to fifteen and one quarter by twenty and three quarter inches. The new Washington hand press superseded the Ramage, and that machine, with the old plant of *The Oregonian*, was bought in 1852 by T. F. McElroy and J. W. Wiley, and taken around on the schooner Mary Taylor to Olympia and used in printing the *Columbian*, the first newspaper north of the Columbia River, and was issued at "Olympia, Puget's Sound, O. T., Saturday, September 11, 1852."

The editor, in making an appeal for subscribers, says:

The Olympian—the pioneer newspaper west of the mountains—between the daddy of Oregon waters and Kamchatka (we don't expect any subscribers there, however, as they don't "cumtux" our "wau-

wau'). Walk up, gentlemen—a few chances for subscription left. Only five dollars a year—"And a-going, and a-going!" Ten copies, did you say?—Thank you, sir. Sale closed. Be patient, gentlemen. Open again to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock, precisely.

The paper was neutral in politics and religion. At the end of six months Editor Wiley says that he "will venture the assertion that not another newspaper in the United States—nay, not in the world—that has existed for six months with more economy than has the *Columbian*. * * We commenced its publication without a subscriber and without a dollar. Since that time we have 'kept bach,' done our own cooking, our own washing, our own mending, cut our own wood, made our own fires, washed our own dishes, swept out our own office, made up our own beds, composed our own editorials out of the cases—writing paper being a luxury which we have been deprived of—and done our own presswork. Now we have three hundred and fifty subscribers. * * What has been accomplished for the Territory of Columbia—or rather what has Northern Oregon accomplished for herself—during the last six months? History—in the future history of the State of Columbia may be found an answer."

Wiley withdrew from the paper on March 13, 1853. On March 26th J. J. Beebe appears as a partner with McElroy, but retired on July 13th. In the first number of the second volume the name of Mat. K. Smith appears as editor, and he conducted it as a whig journal, until November 26th. In the next issue the names of J. W. Wiley and A. M. Berry appear as proprietors, and the name is changed to the *Washington Pioneer*, with Wiley as editor, who says that as long as he has anything to do with it it will "be a straight-out, radical democratic journal." In the issue of February 4, 1854, the name is changed to *Pioneer and Democrat*, and it is printed on a

new press with new type, and R. L. Doyle taken in as partner.

In making this change the paper was enlarged by the addition of one fourth of an inch to the length of the printed page—a fact which the editor emphasizes. At this point the old Ramage press was practically laid aside.

In July, 1861, the manager of *The Press*, Victoria, British Columbia, conceived the idea that it would be good business policy to send a man to Olympia to print a sheet containing the latest war news, and have it ready to send by each steamer leaving Olympia for Victoria, thus enabling *The Press* management to place the latest news before its readers, upon arrival of the steamer, without having to wait to print it. This sheet was called the *Overland Press*, and it was in charge of J. R. Watson and A. M. Poe, and for a few weeks was printed on the press of the *Washington Standard*. In August, however, the old Ramage was secured and used for a year or more.

In 1863 Watson took it to Seattle, and printed the first paper there, the *Seattle Gazette*. A little later, some time in 1865, it was used in printing the *Intelligencer*, started by S. L. Maxwell, for the first time. Some time afterwards it was used in printing the first daily in Seattle, which, it is believed, was the first in the Territory of Washington. Twenty years thereafter, or thereabouts, it began to be considered an historical relic, and was stored in a room in the University of Washington, Seattle, and there it is to-day.

When the press came to the Pacific Coast is a question not yet fully settled. The writer is of the opinion, however, after most careful research, based largely on printed evidence in his possession, dated as early as 1852, that it was sent from New York to Mexico, thence to Monterey, California, in 1834, where it was used by the Spanish governor for a number of years in printing proclamations,

etc., and on August 15, 1846, by Rev. Walter Cotton and R. Semple in printing the *Californian*, the first newspaper in California. Late in 1846 it was sent from Monterey to San Francisco, and used in printing the *Star*, the first paper in that city, which was issued in January, 1847. The interests of the *Californian* and the *Star* were combined, and in the fall of 1848 the first number of the *Alta California* was issued with the plant.

If the foregoing position is true, and there seems to be no reasonable doubt of it, from the evidence now in hand, the press in question was the first in Monterey, the first in San Francisco, the first in Portland, the first in Olympia, and the first in Seattle.

On December 16, 1854, George B. Goudy became a partner in the publication of the *Pioneer and Democrat*, and on August 10, 1855, sole owner. In 1857 he sold to Edward Furste, who retained J. W. Wiley as editor until May 14, 1858. On May 30, 1860, Furste sold to James Lodge, who continued to publish the paper until May 31, 1861. After the first year of this paper's life its publishers had the territorial printing, and fortunes were made out of it. The change of the national administration in 1860 cut off that source of revenue, and it gently expired without an apology.

Notwithstanding Mr. Dryer's capacity to work hard, it was difficult for him to make ends meet. With considerable ability as an editor, he was also in frequent demand as a public speaker. This left him but little time to attend to business matters, which, as every one knows who has had any experience in newspaper business, is largely a matter of small details. This feature of journalism was wholly distasteful to him.

About this time, November, 1853, a beardless youth of seventeen appeared on the scene. He had finished his journey across the plains a few weeks before, and was seek-

ing employment. He had been taught by his father to set type at the age of twelve, and hence had five years' experience. He had applied at the printing office at Oregon City and at *The Times* office in Portland without success. The job of bartender had been offered him, but this was not to his taste. Finally, he called at *The Oregonian* office one morning and asked for work. Mr. Dryer was rather brusque in his manner, and said, "What can you do?" "Set type," was the reply. "Well, see what you can do with that," said Mr. Dryer, handing him a composing stick and a piece of reprint copy, and directing him to a case. The article was soon set and proof taken. Mr. Dryer was surprised to find it correct, and at once regarded the youth with favor. He said, "Have you any money?" "No," was the reply. Tossing the boy a \$5 coin he was bidden to call again. This he did and Mr. Dryer soon found him a most industrious workman—always on hand, and willing to work early and late. Before many months elapsed this young man was advanced to the position of foreman. Soon after that he overhauled the subscription books and began introducing more careful business methods. Thus it was that Henry L. Pittock became connected with *The Oregonian*.

On November 8, 1856, he and Elisha Treat Gunn,⁸ an accomplished printer who came from Connecticut, and had worked on the paper a number of years, were admitted to partnership by Mr. Dryer. This continued until November 20, 1858, when Pittock and Gunn withdrew. On November 24, 1860, Mr. Dryer transferred his interest to Mr. Pittock, but retained editorial control until January 12,

⁸ Mr. Gunn was born in Connecticut about 1827, and went to California in 1849. Early in 1851 he came to Portland and was a compositor on the *Oregonian* for a time. In 1854 he went to Olympia, Washington Territory, and on May 19, 1855, he begun publishing the *Puget Sound Courier* at Steilacoom, the first paper there, and continued until its suspension in April, 1856. On November 30, 1867, he started the *Olympia Transcript*, and continued it until his death in 1883.

1861. This is how it came to pass that Henry L. Pittock became the owner of *The Oregonian*. In recognition of Dryer's services in assisting to carry Oregon for the republican ticket in 1860, on which he was one of the electors, Lincoln appointed him commissioner to the Sandwich Islands, whither he went in 1861. A few years later he returned to Portland and spent the remainder of his life to the year of his death in 1879, the principal part of the time holding the office of justice of the peace.

Upon becoming sole owner of *The Oregonian* Mr. Pittock saw that if he made his business successful he must start a daily, although there were two in the field already. Accordingly, the necessary new material was secured, and the *Morning Oregonian* was first issued February 4, 1861, four pages, each page being eleven and one half by eighteen and one fourth inches, four columns each. It is needless to recount the further history of this enterprise at this time.

Since Mr. Dryer, the principal editors of the paper have been as follows: Simeon Francis, long the owner of the *State Journal* of Springfield, Illinois, who came as a result of a letter written by D. W. Craig, with the expectation of establishing a paper himself, but finding the field well occupied, he set type and did faithful editorial work on the *Oregonian* until 1861, when he was appointed paymaster in the United States Army by President Lincoln, for many years a warm personal friend; Henry Miller; Amory Holbrook, who was appointed United States district attorney by President Taylor, an able lawyer and a polished and vigorous writer; John F. Damon, Samuel A. Clarke, H. W. Scott, W. Lair Hill, and again H. W. Scott. Mr. Scott's first editorial engagement began May 15, 1865, although he became an editorial contributor several months before. In 1872 he was appointed collector of customs. In 1877 he bought an interest in the paper, and became editor in chief, which position he retains to-day.

THE ARCHIVES OF OREGON.

The Public Archives Commission was organized at the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association, in December, 1899. The project had been before the association for several years, but the way had not been clear for starting upon it. The commission proposed to undertake a systematic examination of the contents and condition of the various classes of American public records—national, state, and local, with a view to the ultimate publication of such a guide to them as will make them available for students.

To facilitate the work of the commission an adjunct member was appointed in each state, who is the immediate representative of the commission in that state, and primarily responsible for such lines of investigation as may be undertaken in his field. The work is without compensation, a labor of love for all.

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF OREGON.

Duties of Secretary of State—

The Secretary of State shall keep a fair record of the official acts of the legislative assembly and executive department of the state; and shall, when required, lay the same and all matters relative thereto before either branch of the legislative assembly.

FROM BELLINGER AND COTTON'S ANNOTATED CODES AND STATUTES
OF OREGON.

Duties of Secretary of State—

It shall be the duty of the Secretary of State,—

1. To keep a record of the official acts of the executive department of the state; and he shall, when required, lay the same and all matters relative thereto before each branch of the legislature;

3. He shall be charged with the safe-keeping of all enrolled laws and resolutions, and shall not permit the same or any of them to be taken out of his office or inspected, except in his presence, unless by order of the Governor, or by resolution of one or both houses of the

legislature, under penalty of \$100. All legal papers of the state shall be deposited and preserved in his office. The chief clerks of the senate and house of representatives, at the close of each session of the legislature, shall deposit for safe-keeping in the office of the Secretary of State, all books, bills, documents, and papers in the possession of the legislature, correctly labeled, folded, and classified. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to cause the original enrolled laws and joint resolutions passed at each session of the legislature to be bound in a volume, in a substantial manner, and in the order in which they are approved, and no further record of the official acts of the legislature, so far as relates to acts and joint resolutions, shall be required of said secretary; and he shall index the same, and cause the title thereof, with the session at which the same shall have been passed, to be written or printed on the back of such volume. At the end of each session of the legislative assembly the State Printer shall, of the acts, memorials, resolutions, and journals of each session, print the number of copies

—as specified later in this report.

A collection of documents designated by the Secretary of State as the "Archives" of the state contains the following:

ARCHIVES.

The Code of Civil Procedure and other general statutes of Oregon, enacted by the legislative assembly at the session commencing September 8, 1862. Code Commissioners: M. P. Deady, A. C. Gibbs, J. K. Kelly. Salem: 1863.

General Laws of Oregon, 1845–1864, compiled and annotated by M. P. Deady. Salem, December 26, 1865.

General Laws of Oregon, 1843–1872, compiled and annotated by M. P. Deady, Lafayette Lane.

The Codes and General Laws of Oregon, compiled and annotated by William Lair Hill. 2 vols. Published by authority of an act of February 26, 1885. San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Company. 1887.

Same, including statutes and decisions to 1892. San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Company. 1892.

The Codes and Statutes of Oregon, showing all laws of a general nature, including the Session Laws of 1901. Compiled and annotated by Charles B. Bellinger, William W. Cotton. 2 vols. San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Company. 1902.

The Oregon Archives, including the Journals, Governor's messages, and Public Papers of Oregon. "From the earliest attempt to form a government to and including the session of the territorial legislature of 1849. Collected and published pursuant to an act of the

legislative assembly, passed January 29, 1853." By Lafayette Grover, Commissioner. Salem: 1853.

Same, including following additional contents:

(a) Papers relating to the war with the Cayuse Indians.

(b) Laws of a General and Local Nature. Passed by the legislative committee and legislative assembly at their various successive sessions from the year 1843, down to and inclusive of the session of the territorial legislature held in 1849, except such laws of said session as were published in the bound volume of Oregon Statutes, dated Oregon City, 1851, collected and published pursuant to an act of January 26, 1853.

Statutes of a General Nature. Passed by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon at the second session, begun and held at Oregon City, December, 1850. Oregon City: 1851.

Journals, Local Laws, and Joint Resolutions of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon:

(a) Journal of the Council of the Territory of Oregon during the second session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Oregon City, December 2, 1850. Oregon City: 1851.

(b) Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon, during the second session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Oregon City. Oregon City: 1851.

(c) Statutes of a local nature and joint resolutions of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, passed at the second session thereof, begun and held December 2, 1850, at Oregon City. Oregon City: 1851.

Laws and Journals. Oregon, 1851-1852:

(a) General laws passed by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon at the third regular session thereof, begun and held at Salem, December 1, 1851. Oregon: 1852.

(b) Local laws and joint resolutions of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, passed at the third regular session thereof, begun and held at Salem, December, 1851. Oregon: 1852.

(c) Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon, during the first session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Oregon City, July 16, 1849. Oregon: 1854.

(d) Journal of the Council of the Territory of Oregon, during the first regular session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Oregon City, July 16, 1849. Oregon: 1854.

(e) Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon, during the third regular session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Salem, December 1, 1851.

Appendix: Memorial to Congress requesting officers appointed from among themselves; increasing salaries of revenue collectors; establishment of military posts, mail facilities.

(f) Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon, during a special session, begun and held at Salem, July 26, 1852. Oregon: 1852.

(g) Journal of the Council of Oregon, during a special session, begun and held at Salem, July 26, 1852. Oregon: 1852.

(h) Journal of the Council of the Territory of Oregon, during the third regular session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Salem, December 1, 1851. Oregon: 1852.

Appendix: Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, expressing dissatisfaction with Governor Gaines and the territorial judges; including, also, Judge Pratt's opinion on the "Location Law."

Laws and Journals, 1852-1853:

(a) General laws passed by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, at fourth regular session thereof, begun and held at Salem, December 6, 1852. Oregon: 1853.

(b) Special laws and joint resolutions of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, passed at the fourth regular session thereof, begun and held at Salem, December 6, 1852. Oregon: 1853.

(c) Journal of the Council of the Territory of Oregon, during the fourth regular session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Salem December 6, 1852. Oregon: 1853.

Appendix: Librarian's report, with catalogue of library. Report of company sent out from counties of Lane and Linn to learn the practicability of an emigrant route from Fort Boise to the Willamette Forks, commenced August 20, 1852, and lasted sixty days. Report of Secretary relating to distribution of general laws and journals and local laws. Reports of payments made on account of the library. Report of Treasurer.

(d) Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon during the fourth regular session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Salem, December 6, 1852. Oregon: 1853.

Appendix: Correspondence relating to provisions for the convicts of Oregon Territory in the guardhouse at Columbia Barracks. Instructions to the Governor and Secretary of Oregon Territory in disbursing money intrusted to them by virtue of their offices, from the Treasury Department of the United States. Report of the Minority of the Committee on Maynard's Bill for Divorce. Report of Governor Gaines of the money received and expended for the Territorial Library, with copy of letter from the Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States. Majority and Minority Reports of Commissioners to superintend the erection of a penitentiary at Portland. Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts. Memorial by Territorial Legislature to Congress requesting a release to Dr. John McLoughlin of the "Oregon City Claim," and a donation to the territory for university endowment in lieu thereof of a township of land. Report of Commissioners on Cayuse War Claims. Report of committee to whom this report was referred. Memorial to Congress urging the importance of immediate action on the part of the General Government relative to the construction of a railroad from some point on the Mississippi River to some point on the Pacific Ocean, or some of the navigable waters connected therewith. Resolution requesting: (a) Delegate in Congress to use his best endeavors to secure the erection of marine hospitals at desirable points on the Oregon coast; (b) Congress to divide the Territory of Oregon. Speaker's Decisions.

Laws and Journals, Oregon, 1853-4-5, 1855-6:

(a) Journal of the House of Representatives of Oregon, during the fifth regular session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Salem, December 5, 1853. Salem, Oregon: 1854.

Appendix: Report of Commissioners elected to prepare a Code of Laws. Librarian's report, with catalogue of library. Report of Commissioner of Cayuse War Claims. Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts. Report of Territorial Treasurer. Memorial to Congress urging compensation for services and for losses sustained in war with Rogue River Indians. Report of Committee to whom was referred reports of Auditor and Treasurer. Memorial to the Postmaster General

urging provision of mail facilities for southern Oregon. Report of Commissioners to superintend the erection of a Penitentiary. Report of Legislative Committee on the progress of the work. Report of the Commissioners to superintend the erection of public buildings. Memorial asking admission as a state. Memorial asking for a change in the act of Congress of September 27, 1850, so as to release to Dr. John McLoughlin what is known as the "Oregon City Claim," and in lieu thereof donate to the territory two townships of land. Report of moneys expended by the Commissioners for the erection of a Penitentiary. Memorial urging change in the "Land Law" of September, 1850, so as to facilitate the process of securing titles. Resolution relating to the state house building fund, safes for Auditor and Treasurer, funds for public buildings, relief of Joseph Hunsacker. Speaker's Decisions.

(b) Special Laws passed by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon at the fifth regular session, begun and held at Salem, December 5, 1853. Oregon: 1854.

(c) Journal of the Council of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, during the fifth annual session, begun and held at Salem, December 5, 1853. Oregon: 1854.

Appendix: Report of the Committee appointed to draft rules for the government of the Council. Report of Commissioners to superintend the erection of public buildings. Communication relating to the binding of the Oregon Archives. Report relative to the selection and location of University lands. Resignation of one of the Commissioners. Report of the Joint Code Committee. Report of Auditor of Public Accounts. Report of the Territorial Treasurer. Report of the Judiciary Committee for the repeal of the Stephen's Ferry Charter. Communication of William M. King, relating to contract for building a penitentiary.

(d) Reports of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Oregon at the December term, 1853. Judges: George H. Williams, Chief Justice; Cyrus Olney, Obadiah B. McFadden, Associate Justices. Oregon: 1854.

(e) Bound in the same volume are the following: Laws of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon enacted during the seventh regular session thereof, begun December 3, 1855, and [concluded January 31, 1856. Salem, Oregon: 1856. General laws; special laws.

Journals, Oregon, 1854-55:

(a) Journals of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon, during the sixth regular session of the legislative assembly, begun and held at Salem, December 4, 1854. Corvallis, Oregon: 1854.

Appendix: Rules for the Government of the House of Representatives of Oregon Territory. Treasurer's Report. Correspondence relating to the massacre of immigrants by the Snake River Indians in August, 1854. Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts. Report of the University Land Commissioner. Report of the State House Commissioners. Report of the Willamette Falls Canal, Milling and Transportation Company. Report of Commissioners to erect the Territorial University. Report of the Territorial Librarian, with catalogue of library. Reports, majority and minority, of Judiciary Committee on petition of Mary Ann Huner. Report of Commissioners to erect Penitentiary. Report of Governor Curry on massacre of a portion of the immigration of last season near Fort Boise, with correspondence of military officials. Memorial to the legislature of the Territorial Printer. Report of the State House Commissioners. Report of the Joint Committee on the charges against the Commissioners for the erection of the State House. Message of Governor Curry in relation to the investigation of the expenditure of the penitentiary fund, submitting papers containing accounts, etc. Report of Joint Committee on Message from the Governor, in relation to the massacre of immigrants last season by the Snake River Indians. Message of

Governor Curry, submitting a report of the disbursements and the condition of the fund appropriated by Congress for the erection of public buildings. Report of Select Committee on the report of the State House Commissioners. Report on the burning of the city jail of Portland by Oregon convicts confined therein. Report of Minority of Committee on Relief of Addison Flint for viewing and locating the Territorial Road from Corvallis to Winchester.

(b) Special laws passed by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon at the sixth regular session thereof, begun and held at Salem December 4, 1854. Corvallis, Oregon: 1855.

(c) Journal of the Council of the Territory of Oregon during the sixth regular session of the Legislative Assembly, begun and held at Salem, December 4, 1855.

Appendix: Treasurer's Report. Correspondence relating to the massacre of immigrants by the Snake River Indians in August, 1854. Report of Auditor of Public Accounts. Report of University Land Commissioner. Report on bill to legalize the marriage of John C. Carey and Sarah Carey. Report of State House Commissioners. Report of Willamette Falls Canal, Milling and Transportation Company. Report of Commissioners to erect Territorial University. Report of Commissioners to erect Penitentiary. Message of Governor Curry relating to plans by which perpetrators of massacre of immigrants near Fort Boise might be brought to justice; submitting also correspondence of military officials. Memorial of Territorial Printer, relating to the shipment of one thousand copies of Oregon documents from New York. Report of State House Commissioners. Report of Joint Committee against State House Commissioners. Message of Governor Curry in relation to the investigation of the expenditure of the penitentiary fund, submitting papers. Report of joint committee on message of Governor, relating to massacre of immigrants by the Snake River Indians. Message of the Governor, submitting the report of the disbursements and condition of the fund appropriated by congress for the erection of public buildings. Message by Governor Curry, relating to the recommendation of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in regard to the law prohibiting the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians.

(d) Reports of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Oregon during the years 1853-54. Judges: George H. Williams, Chief Justice; Cyrus Olney, Obadiah B. McFadden, M. P. Deady, Associate Justices. Corvallis, Oregon: 1855.

(e) Reports of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of Oregon, at the December term, 1854. Judges: George H. Williams, Chief Justice; Cyrus Olney, M. P. Deady, Associate Justices. Corvallis, Oregon: 1855.

Supreme Court Reports, 1855-56:

(a) Reports of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Oregon, rendered at the June and December terms, 1855, and June term, 1856. Judges: George H. Williams, Chief Justice; Cyrus Olney, M. P. Deady, Associate Justices. Salem, Oregon: 1856.

(b) Bound in the same volume: Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon, during the seventh regular session, from December 3, 1855, to January 31, 1856. Salem, Oregon: 1856.

Appendix: Rules of the House. Correspondence relating to the location and erection of capitol building. Report of the Commissioners to erect Penitentiary. Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts. Message of Governor Curry, and correspondence relating to the suppression of Indian hostilities. Report of the disbursements and condition of the fund appropriated by Congress for the erection of public buildings. Report of the University Land Commissioner. Report of Quartermaster of the Department of Oregon Territory, of Adjutant General and Surgeon in Chief of the Medical Department, of Commissary General. Memorial to the President of the United States complaining of the course of General Wool

in connection with the suppression of the Indian hostilities. Preamble to act providing for the taking of the sense of the people of the territory relative to forming a state government. Report of the Commissioners to superintend the erection of a monument over the grave of Hon. S. R. Thurston. Memorial criticising the action of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the territory in his location of Indian tribes. Memorial relating to the issuing of patents to land claimants. Memorial urging claims for services rendered in punishing the Snake River tribe of Indians. Memorial relating to the assumption of indebtedness of Provisional Government of Oregon. Memorial praying for the establishment of a mail route from San Francisco to Olympia. Memorial requesting an appropriation for the construction of a military road from Oregon City to The Dalles. Memorial relative to the establishment of a mail service east of the Cascade Mountains. Report of the Territorial Librarian. Report of the Committee to Inquire into the cause of the destruction of the State House. Memorial asking Congress to assume the expenses of the existing Indian war. Memorial preferring charges against the Surveyor General. Correspondence and resolution relating to the events of the Indian war.

Laws of Oregon, 1855-56: Laws of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, enacted during the seventh regular session thereof, begun December 3, 1855, and concluded January 31, 1856. Salem, Oregon: 1856.

General laws; special laws.

Laws and Journals of Oregon, 1856-57:

(a) Laws of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, enacted during the eighth regular session thereof, begun December 1, 1856; concluded January 29, 1857. Salem, Oregon: 1857.

(b) Journal of the proceedings of the Council of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, during the regular session from December 1, 1856, to January 29, 1857. Salem, Oregon: 1857.

Appendix: Memorial of Messrs. Dickinson and Fitch, and other papers relating to the Territorial Penitentiary at Portland. Report referring to contest for seat in the Council; also petition and other papers relating to the same. Joint Resolution instructing Delegate in Congress to secure further donations of university lauds. Rules of the Council. Joint Rules.

(c) Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon, during the eighth regular session, 1856-57. Salem, Oregon: 1857.

Appendix: Message of the Governor. Report of the Comptroller. Report on Capitol Fund. Correspondence between the Governor and the Secretary of War in relation to General Wool, and to location of the capital. Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts. Report of Select Committee to which was referred the Auditor's Report. Annual Report of the University Land Commissioner. Treasurer's Report. Message of the Governor, submitting correspondence relating to Indian hostilities. Report of the Commissioners for the erection of a Penitentiary. Report of the Commissioner to audit claims growing out of the Indian war of Oregon Territory. Report of Committee appointed to visit the Penitentiary. Pilot Commissioner's Report. Report and papers in a case of a contested election. Papers relating to Penitentiary. Communications of Auditor. Librarian's Report. Miscellaneous reports, resolutions, and memorials. Rules of the House.

Laws of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon enacted during the eighth regular session thereof, begun December 1, 1856, concluded, January 29, 1857. Salem, Oregon: 1857.

General laws; special laws.

House and Senate Journal, 1856-57:

(a) Journal of the proceedings of the Council of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, during the regular session, from December 1, 1856, to January 29, 1857. Salem, Oregon: 1857.

Appendix: (The same as listed under "(b)" under the heading "Appendix" of the "Laws and Journals of Oregon, 1856-57.")

(b) Journal of the ninth regular session of the House of Representatives of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, commencing December 7, 1857. Salem, Oregon: 1858.

Appendix: Librarian's Report. Auditor's Report. University Land Commissioner's Report. Report of the Superintendent of the Penitentiary. Report of the condition of the fund for the erection of Public Buildings. Laws of the Territory of Oregon enacted during the ninth regular session of the legislative assembly, begun December 7, 1857, concluded February 5, 1858. Salem, Oregon: 1858.

(a) Constitution of Oregon. General laws. Special Laws.

(b) Journal of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, during the seventh regular session, from December 3, 1856, to January 31, 1856. Salem, Oregon: 1856.

Appendix: Treasurer's Report. Penitentiary Report. Auditor's Report. Pilot Commissioner's Report.

Laws and Journals, Oregon, 1858-59:

(a) Laws of the Territory of Oregon, enacted during the tenth regular session of the legislative assembly, begun December 6, 1858, concluded January 22, 1859. Salem, Oregon: 1859. General laws; special laws.

(b) Journal of the Territorial Council of the legislative assembly of Oregon Territory, tenth regular session, 1858-59. Salem, Oregon: 1859.

Appendix: Report relative to a contested seat. Report of the Committee on Education. Report of Casualties by Committee on Military Affairs.

(c) Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon, during the regular session, 1858-59. Salem, Oregon: 1859.

Appendix: Documents accompanying the Governor's message—(1) Correspondence relating to buildings required for the accommodation of the territorial officers of the United States. Report of Commission on Indian war expenses in Oregon and Washington. Auditor's Report. Account accompanying the Auditor's Report. Treasurer's Report. Report of Superintendent of Penitentiary; Chaplain's Report accompanying. Report of the University Land Commissioner. Librarian's Report. Report on failure to print documents accompanying the Governor's message. Report on claims of Roberts and Shortle. Proposition of Joseph Knott to make penitentiary a self-supporting institution. Report of Joint Committee on Education. Minority Report of the same Committee. Report of Judiciary Committee on petitions asking for the passage of a law to protect property in slaves in the Territory of Oregon. Minority report on the same. Proposition on the administration of the penitentiary. Report on petitions asking for the enactment of a "prohibitory liquor law." Statement of amount annually paid by the Secretary of Oregon for rent of legislative halls and offices, and the fitting up of the same. Report of the Committee on Military Affairs.

Laws and Journals of Oregon, 1859-60: Laws of the State of Oregon, enacted during the first extra session of the legislative assembly, begun May 16, 1859, concluded June 4, 1859. Salem, Oregon: 1859.

(a) General Laws and Special Laws.

(b) Journal of the House of Representatives of the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon, during the first session thereof, 1858. Salem, Oregon: 1859. (Minutes show an attempt at what is called the "first regular session" on September 13, 1858. It was adjourned on the second day. A session had also been held from July 5th to July 9th.)

(c) Journal of the House of Representatives of the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon, during the first extra session, 1859. Salem, Oregon: 1859.

(d) Journal of the Senate of the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon, during the first extra session, 1859. Salem, Oregon: 1859.

Appendix: The State Constitution, together with the session laws of Oregon, enacted during the first regular session of the legislative assembly of Oregon, September 10, 1860. Salem, Oregon: 1860.

(e) Journal of the proceedings of the Senate of the legislative assembly of Oregon during the first regular session thereof, begun September 10, 1860. Salem, Oregon: 1860.

Appendix: Declarations of Pardon. Documents relating to swamp land acts. Treasurer's Report. Memorial to Congress asking the payment of the Indian war claims. Memorial by J. Quinn Thornton asking acceptance of a silver medal commemorating the discovery of the mouth of the Columbia River. Report of committee recommending acceptance of it. Governor's message calling attention to the massacre of immigrants near Salmon Falls on the Snake River. Secretary's Report.

(f) Journal of the proceedings of the House of Representatives of the legislative assembly of Oregon, during the first regular session, commenced September 10, 1860. Salem, Oregon: 1860.

Appendix: Librarian's Report. Report and Memorial concerning the Penitentiary. Report relative to Agricultural Societies. Report of Pilot Commissioner. Report of Committee on Education.

House Journal, 1860:

(a) Same as (f) above.

(b) Journal of the proceedings of the Senate of the legislative assembly of Oregon, for the session of 1862. Salem, Oregon: 1862.

(c) Special laws of the State of Oregon and Memorials and Joint Resolutions enacted by the legislative assembly thereof during the session of 1862. Salem, Oregon: 1862.

House and Senate Journal, 1862:

(a) Journal of the proceedings of the House of the legislative assembly of Oregon, for the session of 1862. Salem, Oregon: 1862.

Appendix: Governor's Message and accompanying documents, mainly grants of pardon and correspondence relating to threatened Indian depredations. Treasurer's Report. Special Message, and accompanying documents. Secretary's Report. Librarian's Report.

(b) Same as (b) next above.

Journals and Local Laws of Oregon, 1862 :

(a) Same as (b) next above.

(b) Same as (c) above.

(c) Same as (a) of the "Senate and House Journal, 1862."

House and Senate Journal, 1864 :

(a) Journal of the proceedings of the House of the legislative assembly of Oregon for the third regular session, 1864.

Appendix: Governor's Message. Abstract of reports of county school superintendents. Doctors Glisan and Wilson's report as visiting and inspecting physicians of the Oregon Insane Asylum. Petition for the extension of the contract with Doctors Hawthorne and Loryea. Biennial Report of the Physicians of the Oregon Hospital for the Insane. Names of persons pardoned. Penitentiary Report. Secretary's Report. Report of State Treasurer. Report of Adjutant General. Abstract of Description Book of the First Cavalry Regiment Oregon Volunteers. Librarian's Report. Railroad Report. Special Message relating to the locating of the State's Public Lands. Mrs. Thornton's letter presenting tomahawk.

(b) Journal of the proceedings of the Senate of the legislative assembly of Oregon for the session of 1864. Salem, Oregon : 1864.

(c) Special Laws of the State of Oregon enacted during the third regular session of the legislative assembly, begun September 12, and concluded October 22, 1864.

(d) Memorials and Joint Resolutions.

House and Senate Journals, 1864 :

(a) Same as (b), (c), and (d) next above.

(b) Same as (a) next above.

House and Senate Journals, 1864-65 :

(a) Same as (c) next above.

(b) The Senate Journal during the special session, begun and held December, 1865. Salem, Oregon : 1866.

(c) Special Laws, Resolutions.

(d) The Journal of the House during the special session begun and held December, 1865. Salem, Oregon : 1866.

(e) Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Oregon for 1865. Salem, Oregon : 1865.

(f) Message of Governor Addison C. Gibbs, to the legislative assembly, and accompanying documents for the special session, December 5, 1865. Salem, Oregon : 1865.

(g) Report of the Penitentiary Commissioners for the quarter ending May 31, 1865. Salem, Oregon : 1865.

(h) Report of the Secretary of State.

(i) Report of the State Printer.

House and Senate Journal, 1865 :

(a) Same as (d) to (i), inclusive, next above.

(b) and (c) Same as (b) and (c) next above.

Messages and Documents, 1865 :

(a) Report of the Secretary of State, September, 1866.

(b) Report of the State Treasurer, September, 1866.

(c) Report of the Commissioners of the University and Common School Fund.

- (d) Report of the State Librarian, September, 1866.
- (e) Census returns and statements of taxes and bounties.
- (f) Copy of deed transferring land to the state on which the State House is erected.
- (g) History of mint, established in 1849.
- (h) Report of the Willamette University, June 4, 1866.
- (i) Abstract of votes cast at general election, June 4, 1866.
- (j) Abstract of Commissioners of Deeds.
- (k) Abstract of Notaries Public.
- (l) Abstract of Articles of Incorporation from September 1, 1864, to August 31, 1866.
- (m) to (t), inclusive, same as (b) to (i), under "Senate and House Journal, 1864-65."

Miscellaneous Documents, Oregon Archives, 1865-80:

- (a) In the matter of the State of Oregon, claiming certain lands in said state as "Swamp and Overflowed" under and by virtue of the acts of Congress of September 28, 1850, and March 12, 1860. Correspondence and House Joint Resolution pertaining thereto.
- (b) Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Oregon for 1863-64.
- (c) Same for the year 1864.
- (d) Same for the year 1865.
- (e) to (p), inclusive, same as (a) to (l) next above.
- (q) Adjutant General's Report, September, 1868.
- (r) Adjutant General's Report, September, 1872.
- (s) Report of the Joint Committee to investigate the manner of the segregation and sale of the swamp and overflowed lands, 1878.
- (t) In the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Oregon. John Nightingale and S. G. Elliott, plaintiffs, *v.* The Oregon Central and Oregon and California Railroad Companies *et al.*, defendants.

Laws of Oregon, 1865-70.

- (a) The General Laws of Oregon, passed at the special session, begun and held December, 1865, Salem, Oregon: 1865.
- (b) Resolutions and Memorials passed at the same session as above.
- (c) Acts and Resolutions of the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon passed at the fourth regular session, 1866, Salem, Oregon: 1866. Contains an Appendix.
- (d) Joint Resolutions and Memorials.
- (e) General Laws of the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon, passed at the third regular session, 1864, and the special session, 1865, omitted by mistake from the volumes published after the adjournment of said sessions. Ordered published by law, approved October 24, 1866.
- (f) Reports of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Oregon, as filed in the office of the Secretary of State since the publication of 1862. Salem, Oregon: 1866.
- (g) General Laws of the State of Oregon, passed at the fifth regular session of the legislative assembly thereof, 1868. Salem, Oregon: 1868.
- (h) Special Laws, 1868.
- (i) Joint Resolutions and Memorials, 1868.
- (j) Amendments to the Laws of Oregon compiled in accordance with Senate Joint Resolution No. 22, directing the publication of all amendments to the Civil and Criminal Code. Salem, Oregon: 1868.
- (k) Acts and Resolutions of the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon passed at the sixth regular session, 1870, and Supreme Court Decisions. Salem, Oregon: 1870.

General Laws, Special Laws, Joint Resolutions, Joint Memorials, Supreme Court Decisions.

Senate and House Journals, 1866:

(a) Journal of the Senate proceedings of the legislative assembly of Oregon for the fourth regular session, 1866. Salem, Oregon: 1866.

(b) Journal of the proceedings of the House of the legislative assembly of Oregon for the fourth regular session, 1866. Salem, Oregon: 1866.

Appendix: Second Biennial Report of the Physicians of the Oregon Hospital for the Insane. Adjutant General's report for 1855-56. Report of the Superintendent of the Penitentiary. Report of the Penitentiary Commissioners. House Joint Resolutions.

Then follows a list of documents that is the same as from (e) to (p) under "Miscellaneous Documents, Oregon Archives, 1865-80."

Laws of Oregon and Decisions of the Supreme Court, 1866: (a), (b), (c), and (d) the same as (g), (h), (i), and (j) of the "Laws of Oregon, 18765-0," respectively.

Laws of Oregon and Decisions of the Supreme Court, 1872: Acts and Resolutions of the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon, passed at the seventh regular session, 1872, and Decisions of the Supreme Court. Salem, Oregon: 1872.

General Laws, Special Laws, Joint Resolutions, Joint Memorials, Decisions of the Supreme Court.

Laws of Oregon and Decisions of the Supreme Court, 1874: Acts and Resolutions of the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon, passed at the eighth regular session, 1874, and Decisions of the Supreme Court. General Laws, Special Laws, Joint Resolutions, Joint Memorials, Decisions of the Supreme Court, September term, 1872; January term, 1873; July term, 1873; December term, 1873; August term, 1874; December term. 1874.

Appendix: Opinion and Findings of M. P. Deady, referee, in the case of the *State of Oregon v. Samuel E. May et al.*

The later Archives are arranged in quite uniform series of publications:

SERIES A. *Laws of Oregon.* Comprises volumes as follows:

1876—Ninth regular session.

1878—Tenth regular session.

1880—Eleventh regular session.

1882—Twelfth regular session.

1885—Thirteenth legislative assembly, special session.

1885—Thirteenth regular session.

1887—Fourteenth regular session.

1889—Fifteenth regular session.

1891—Sixteenth regular session.

- 1893—Seventeenth regular session.
- 1895—Eighteenth regular session.
- 1898—Twentieth legislative assembly, special session.
- 1899—Twentieth regular session.
- 1901—Twenty-first regular session.

The contents of the above series are uniformly: General Laws, Special Laws, Joint Resolutions, Joint Memorials, Names Changed, Financial Statement. The Joint Resolutions are termed "Concurrent Resolutions" in the laws of the special session of the twentieth legislative assembly. The Special Laws of the last (twenty-first) regular session are omitted.

SERIES B. *House Journals*. Extensive lists of documents are bound in with the earlier volumes of this series as follows:

1. 1857-58. Legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon.

Appendix: Librarian's Report. Auditor's Report. University Land Commissioner's Report. Report of the Superintendent of the Penitentiary. Report of the Condition of the Fund for the Erection of Public Buildings. Treasurer's Report. Report of the Visiting Committee to the Penitentiary. Auditor's Report of Claims. Pilot Commissioner's Report.

2. First regular session of the legislative assembly, 1860:

Appendix: Librarian's Report. Report and Memorial concerning Penitentiary. Report of Select Committee on Penitentiary. Memorial relating to agricultural societies. Report of Select Committee on Vessels entering the Columbia River. Memorial to Congress to establish a Branch of Pilot Service on the Columbia and Western rivers.

3. Session of 1862:

Appendix: Governor's Message. Pardons. Correspondence on Military Matters. Treasurer's Report. Special Message. Report of sublessee of State Penitentiary. Report of Committee on Military Affairs. Secretary's Report. Librarian's Report.

4. Special session, 1865.

Appendix: Report of Adjutant General. Governor's Message. Report of Visiting Committee to the Penitentiary. Report of the Proprietors of the Asylum for the Insane. Report of the Secretary of State. Report of the condition of the fund for the erection of Public Buildings. Report of State Printer.

Later volumes have no appendix until the year 1885 is reached, when the Governor's message and the inaugural addresses are included.

SERIES C. *Senate Journal*. The series is regular from 1868. There is a "Senate Journal, 1897," as the Senate succeeded in effecting an organization that year while the House did not, and therefore the corresponding Journal for the House is lacking. The volume for 1897 has the Governor's Message for an appendix; the volume for 1901 has the "Governor's Message and Accompanying Documents."

SERIES D. *Oregon Reports.* Decisions of the Supreme Court :

<i>Volume.</i>	<i>Compiler.</i>	<i>Publisher.</i>
I	Jos. G. Wilson, Clerk-----	Banks and Brothers, New York ; A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco.
II	Jos. G. Wilson, Clerk-----	A. L. Bancroft & Co.; Bancroft-Whitney Co., San Francisco.
III	Jos. G. Wilson, Clerk-----	A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco.
IV	C. B. Bellinger, Reporter-----	A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco.
V	C. B. Bellinger, Reporter-----	A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco.
VI	C. B. Bellinger, Reporter-----	A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco.
VII	C. B. Bellinger, Reporter-----	A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco.
VIII	C. B. Bellinger, Reporter-----	A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco.
IX	T. B. Odeneal, Reporter-----	Geo. H. Himes, Portland.
X	T. B. Odeneal, Reporter-----	M. Waite and W. H. Byars, Salem.
XI	T. B. Odeneal, Reporter-----	M. Waite and W. H. Byars, Salem.
XII	J. A. Stratton, Reporter-----	Sumner-Whitney & Co., San Francisco.
XIII	J. A. Stratton, Reporter-----	Bancroft-Whitney Co., San Francisco.
XIV	J. A. Stratton, Reporter-----	Bancroft-Whitney Co., San Francisco.
XV	W. H. Holmes, Reporter-----	Bancroft-Whitney Co., San Francisco.
XVI	W. H. Holmes, Reporter-----	Bancroft-Whitney Co., San Francisco.
XVII	W. H. Holmes, Reporter-----	Bancroft-Whitney Co., San Francisco.
XVIII	W. W. Thayer, Chief Justice--	Frank C. Baker, State Printer, Salem.
XIX	R. S. Strahan, Chief Justice--	Frank C. Baker, State Printer, Salem.
XX	Geo. H. Burnett, Reporter---	Frank C. Baker, State Printer, Salem.
XXI	Geo. H. Burnett, Reporter---	Frank C. Baker, State Printer, Salem.
XXII	Geo. H. Burnett, Reporter---	Frank C. Baker, State Printer, Salem.
XXIII-XXXIX	Robert G. Morrow, Reporter--	W. H. Leeds, State Printer, Salem.

SERIES E. *Separate Volumes of Miscellaneous Documents :*

Adjutant General's Report, 1865.

Adjutant General's Report, 1865-66.

Adjutant General's Report, 1868.

Adjutant General's Report, 1865-78.

State Board of Equalization Tables, 1891-97.

State Levy of Taxes, 1888-1899.

Report of Committee of Investigation, appointed pursuant House Joint Resolutions Nos. 8 and 10, passed at the tenth regular session of legislative assembly. Salem, Oregon : 1877.

Report of Investigating Committee appointed pursuant to Senate Joint Resolution No. 27, passed at the sixth regular session of the legislative assembly, 1870. Salem, Oregon : 1870.

Briefs in State Cases, 1881.

Report of Secretary of State, 1880. Documents, 1880.

Oregon School Reports, 1883-84.

The early Indian Wars of Oregon, by Frances Fuller Victor. Compiled from Oregon Archives and other original sources, with Muster Rolls. Salem, Oregon : 1895

Exercises on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Statehood of Oregon, February 14, 1899. Held before the legislative assembly.

Report of Secretary of State, 1893-98.

Report of Secretary of State, 1899-1900.

Fish and Game Report, 1897-98. McGuire.

Report of Board of Charities and Corrections. Oregon : 1892.

Report of State Treasurer, 1897-98.

Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Oregon, held at Salem, commencing August 17, 1857, together with the Constitution adopted by the people, November 9, 1857. Salem, Oregon : 1882.

SERIES F.

<i>Messages and documents.</i>	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.	Year.
Governor's message-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Secretary of State-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
State Treasurer-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
State Librarian-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Superintendent of Public Instruction	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Adjutant General-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Oregon State Penitentiary-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Oregon State Insane Asylum-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Oregon Institute for the Blind-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Oregon Deaf-Mute School-----	1870	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
University of Oregon-----	1870	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Board of Land Commissioners-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Fish Commissioners-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Fish and Game Protector-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Building Commissioners-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Railroad Commissioners-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Pilot Commissioners-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Governor's Inaugural Address-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Penitentiary Building Commissioners-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
State Agricultural College-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
State Normal School at Monmouth-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Board of Equalization-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
State Geologist-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Wagon Road's Commissioner-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Register of State Lands, La Grande-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Architect, Capitol-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Capitol Building Commissioners-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Supervising Architect, Asylum-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Asylum Building Commissioners-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Public Building Commissioners-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Canal and Locks-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Medical Register-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Medical Examiner-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Resources of Oregon-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Tax Levy-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Assessment and Taxation Commission-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
Commissioner World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901
World's Fair Commission-----	1868	1870	1872	1874	1876	1878	1880	1882	1885	1887	1889	1891	1893	1895	1897	1899	1901

[illegible]

SERIES F.—CONTINUED.

<i>Messages and documents.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Address on John Marshall																			1901
Insurance																			1898
Directory of Insurance Companies																			1900

* Appendix.

† Governor Grover to General Scofield on the Modoc War, etc. Report of General John E. Ross to Governor. Governor to Secretary of Interior.

‡ Report of joint committee appointed to examine books and accounts of this office.

§ Also : report of visiting physician.

|| Also report of inspecting physician.

EXHIBIT OF PROVISIONS IN THE PRESENT LAW FOR PRINTING OF STATE DOCUMENTS.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>	<i>Regular edition.</i>	<i>Binding.</i>	<i>When due.</i>
General Laws, Memorials, Resolutions.....	Act, 1901	1,500	Half sheep	April, biennially.
Special Laws.....	Act, 1901	100	Half sheep	April, biennially.
Various Special Laws (in pamphlet form)	Act, 1901	240	In paper	May, biennially.
House Journals.....	Act, 1901	240	Half sheep	July, biennially.
Senate Journals.....	Act, 1901	240	Half sheep	July, biennially.
Supreme Court Reports.....	Act, 1901	600	Full sheep	About every five months.
Report of Fish Commissioner.....	Act, 1901	720	In paper	December, biennially.
Governor's Message.....	Act, 1901	720	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Board of Horticulture.....	Act, 1901	3,000	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Secretary of State.....	Act, 1901	1,000	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction.....	Act, 1901	1,000	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of State Biologist.....	Act, 1901	480	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of State Librarian.....	Act, 1901	480	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Adjutant-General.....	Act, 1901	480	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Game and Forestry Warden.....	Act, 1901	480	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Dairy and Food Commissioner.....	Act, 1901	480	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of President and Regents of State University.....	Act, 1901	480	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Trustees of Oregon Soldiers' Home.....	Act, 1901	480	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Trustees and Superintendent of Oregon State Insane Asylum.....	Act, 1901	480	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Superintendent of State Penitentiary.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of State Treasurer.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Attorney-General.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of State Land Agent.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of State Land Board.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Public Building Commissioners.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Oregon State Reform School.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Superintendent of Oregon Institute for the Blind.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of Oregon School for Education of Deaf-Mutes.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Report of State Stove Foundry.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Statement of Communications and Remissions.....	Act, 1901	240	In paper	December, biennially.
Governor's Inaugural Address.....	Act, 1901	720	In paper	December, biennially.
Statement of State Levy of Taxes.....	*	240	In paper	Usually every four years.
Report of Insurance Commissioner.....	*	960	In paper	January, annually.
Statement of Summaries of Assessment Rolls.....	*	1,200	In paper	January, annually.
Statement of Expenses of the Various Counties.....	*	1,200	In paper	January, annually.
Insurance Laws of Oregon.....	*	960	In paper	April, biennially.
Game Laws of Oregon.....	*	2,500	In paper	April, biennially.
Road Laws of Oregon.....	Act, 1866	1,500	In paper	April, biennially.
Fish Laws of Oregon.....	†	2,500	In paper	April, biennially.
School Laws of Oregon.....	†	11,800	In paper	April, biennially.

* Published by Secretary of State. † Published by State Board of Education.

‡ Legislative Resolution.

DOCUMENTS.

An account of "Oregon meetings" held at Bloomington, Iowa, in March and April, 1843, copied from a file of the *Ohio Statesman* by Professor Joseph Schafer. This document was taken from the issue of April 26, 1843 :

OREGON MEETING.

From the Bloomington (Iowa) Herald.

At a public meeting held at the schoolhouse in Bloomington on Saturday, 19th inst., for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a company to emigrate to Oregon Territory, the Rev. Geo. M. Hinkle, of Louisa County, was called to the chair, and Wm. F. Smith elected secretary. The chairman having explained the object of the meeting, Mr. John C. Irwin, chairman of the committee appointed for that purpose at a previous meeting, made the following report :

Your committee, who were appointed to draft a report to be made to this meeting, beg leave to submit the following, to wit :

That from the information they have obtained from various sources, they believe the Oregon Territory to be far superior in many respects to any other portion of the United States; they believe it to be superior in climate, in health, in water privileges, in timber, in convenience to market, and in many other respects; they believe it to be well adapted to agriculture and stock raising; also holding out great inducements to mechanics of the various branches; they would, therefore, recommend to every person possessing the enterprise and patriotic spirit of the true American citizen, to emigrate to the Oregon Territory at as early a date as possible, and thereby secure to themselves a permanent and happy home, and to their country one of the fairest portions of her domain. In order to bring this subject more fairly before this meeting, your committee beg leave to submit the following resolutions for consideration and adoption :

Resolved, That the company here formed start from this place (Bloomington) on the tenth day of May next, on their journey to Oregon.

Resolved, That the route taken by the company shall be from here to Iowa City; from thence to Council Bluffs; and from thence to the most suitable point on the road from Independence to Oregon: from thence by way of the Independence road to Oregon.

Resolved, That the company leave or pass through Iowa City on the twelfth day of May next, and invite other companies to join.

Resolved, That each and every individual, as an outfit, provide himself with 100 pounds flour, 30 pounds bacon, 1 peck salt, 3 pounds powder, in horns or canteens, 15 pounds lead or shot, and one good tent cloth to every six persons: every man well armed and equipped with gun, tomahawk, knife, etc.

Resolved, That all persons taking teams be advised to take oxen or mules; also that each single man provide himself with a mule or pony.

Resolved, That we now appoint a corresponding secretary, whose name shall be made public; whose duty it shall be to correspond with individuals in this country, and with companies at a distance; receive and communicate all the information that he may deem expedient.

Resolved, That the members of the association meet on the last Saturday in April next for the purpose of a more complete organization.

On motion of Mr. Purcell,—

Resolved, That the resolutions just offered be taken up and read separately, which was agreed.

From the first to the seventh article of the resolutions were voted for unanimously, with the request that those who wished to join the company would particularly look to the fourth and fifth resolutions.

On motion of Mr. Irwin adjourned till 2 o'clock.

2 o'clock P. M.

Pursuant to adjournment, the meeting met, and being called to order, proceeded to the regular business of the day. Rev. M. Fisher, General Clark, Rev. G. M. Hinkle, Judge Williams, Stephen Witcher, Esq., and J. B. Barker, Esq., addressed the meeting with very eloquent and appropriate addresses in behalf of those persons who wish to emigrate to Oregon.

On motion of Mr. Irwin, General Clark was requested to act as corresponding secretary for the company until its final organization and departure for Oregon. Also, that a committee of three be appointed to act in conjunction with the corresponding secretary, in the transaction of any business for the advancement of the interests of the company. John W. Humphreys, Barton Lee, and Thos. Gartland were appointed said committee.

On motion—

Resolved, That the ladies, and all others friendly to the settlement of Oregon, be respectfully invited to attend, and that the Rev. Mr. Hinkle and others be invited to address the assembly.

On motion—

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and be published in the *Bloomington Herald*.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Fisher, the meeting adjourned till Friday, 31st inst.

W. F. SMITH, Secretary.

G. M. HINKLE, President

Saturday, April 1, 1843.

The meeting was organized by calling David Hendershott to the chair, and Silas A. Hudson as secretary; when, on motion of James G. Edwards, the report of the committee read in part on Saturday last, was ordered to be read in full.

Mr. Hight, from the committee of correspondence, made the following report:

Your committee of correspondence beg leave to report that they have written to Independence, Missouri, and to Columbus, Ohio, and have requested information, and also have proposed to join at some point this side of the mountains. Your committee have also thought it proper to submit a set of resolutions for your consideration, which ought to govern the company. It is expressly understood that we emigrate to Oregon for the purpose of settlement: men of families are requested to join; we have already engaged a physician, and expect a chaplain to accompany the enterprise.

Organization of the Oregon Emigration Society.—There shall be elected one captain, four sergeants, and as soon as the company shall arrive at the gap of the Rocky Mountains, and consists of not less than one hundred men, they may choose one first and one second lieutenant. The captain and the four officers next in rank shall direct all the movements, and make all arrangements of the society for their march; and they shall act as directors, and shall qualify candidates and receive them as such at their discretion. They shall have charge of the funds of the company: shall choose their own clerk, who shall keep a regular account of all moneys expended and the amount on hand; and the directors shall report to the company monthly. The clerk shall keep a regular journal of the march. No negroes or mulattoes shall be allowed to accompany the expedition under any pretenses whatever.

Equipment.—Rifle gun, to carry from thirty-two to sixty bullets to the pound, and a tomahawk and knife, \$16; one chopping axe, spade, etc., \$2; 100 pounds side bacon, \$3; 1 barrel flour and one peck salt, \$2.25; $\frac{1}{2}$ pound cayenne pepper, 1 barrel beans, \$1: 1 canteen, and 1 blanket, \$5; 1 tent to every six men, \$6: 1 wagon and 2 yoke of oxen to six men, \$150; 1 pony or mule, \$60; teams and horses to be shod, and spare shoes; $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel, iron hooped, to each wagon, for carrying water, \$1.50. To each wagon 3 sets plow irons; 1 cradling scythe to each wagon, all mechanical tools to be taken; \$20 cash to be deposited with the directors for company use.

Every man ought to carry with him a Bible and other religious books, as we hope not to degenerate into a state of barbarism.

The whole amount necessary for each man, without a horse, will be about \$65.

As soon as fifty men shall have joined and been inspected, and found competent, they shall choose their officers, and then agree as to the

time to take up the line of march. We shall pass through Mt. Pleasant, and to the agency, and thence the best route to Council Bluff.

Mr. Edwards moved that the report be adopted and printed, which was agreed to, when, on motion of General Hight, the meeting adjourned to meet on Saturday, April 8th, at 2 o'clock P. M.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

BY CITIZENS OF KENTUCKY, JANUARY 13, 1840.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your petitioners respectfully suggest: That the Government of the United States ought to plant a colony in the Oregon Territory, and give it such nurture in its infancy as to enable it to get a hold sufficiently permanent for it, by industry, to make the many natural advantages of that vast region contribute to the wealth and prosperity of our nation. To crown this enterprise with success, they believe it to be expedient to have a road cut from some of the towns on the Missouri River, across the Rocky Mountains to Astoria, at the mouth of the Oregon River. As soon as this passage can be opened, a colony of farmers and mechanics should be conducted across the mountains and settled, with a military power, stationed strong enough to protect the colony. Donations of land should be made to those who would become actual settlers, sufficiently large to induce emigration. At a convenient distance across the mountains small garrisons should be placed, to protect travelers from the hostilities of the Indians. Under these arrangements, with such additions as you in your wisdom may make, a settlement in that territory can be made, which will doubtless redound to the advantage of this country. Your petitioners believe there are but few sections of country in North America embracing more advantages than that region. Its climate is said to be more temperate than the climate of any other country situated in a similar latitude. Its soil is fertile and well adapted to the growth of all kinds of agricultural products. Its valuable fisheries would be a splendid accession of wealth to the United States: its peltries, for a time, would be immensely profitable. A settlement in that country would afford more extended range to the pursuit of agriculture, into which it is our nation's interest to induce as many as possible; when markets shall be opened for the products of this country, its rivers will afford advantageous facilities of navigation. The commercial position of this country must not be overlooked. The East India trade, which enriched the Phœnicians, the Jews, and all succeeding nations, which have been so fortunate as to enjoy its trade, is more convenient to this quarter of the country than any commercial point in the United States or Europe. The estuary of the Oregon River is said to afford a safe, easy, and

commodious harbor. Were a trade carried on between this point and the East Indies, the perilous navigation of dangerous seas, to which our commerce with that quarter is unavoidably exposed, would be obviated. With a little energy and an inconsiderable expense, compared with the magnitude of the design, we can have the luxuries and richest products of the Oriental climes brought up the Oregon River, over the snowy heights of the Rocky Mountains, and poured out into the lap of the prosperous West.

Your petitioners feeling a lively interest in speedily securing so many important advantages for their country, therefore pray, that your honorable body will, by law, afford the necessary facilities as soon as practicable, to settle the Oregon Territory in the manner suggested in this petition.

H. Hough, Fielding Friend, Samuel Haycraft, J. R. Boyce, C. S. Craig, James W. Hays, F. W. Foreman, S. D. Winterbower, R. G. Hays, John H. Thomas, J. W. Miller, E. S. Brown, Nathaniel McLane, James W. Smith, E. H. Haycraft, P. S. Wood, Samuel J. Stuart, Wm. D. Vertrus, P. W. D. Stone, W. S. Morris, Thomas Morris, John Arnold, W. S. English, W. E. English, Stephen Eliot, Arthur Park, Wm. C. Van Mater.

ELIZABETHTOWN, Kentucky, January 13, 1840.

TALLMADGE B. WOOD LETTER.

The following letter, written by Tallmadge B. Wood, was secured through Miss Florence E. Baker, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Tallmadge B. Wood was without doubt the Benjamin Wood of whose murder by Indians in the California mines in 1848 Mrs. Fannie Clayton gives a circumstantial account in the *JUNE QUARTERLY*, 1901, pages 180-181. As the letter and other evidence indicate, he was prominent in the direction of the emigration of 1843.

Miss Baker supplies the note below, descriptive of the letter; also the following facts: "Mr. Wood was born July 5, 1817, and was the son of Jesse and Rebecca (Bryan) Wood, and grandson of Benjamin Wood. They lived in the township of Milton, and their post office was Ballston Spa, Saratoga County, New York. His sister was Mrs. (Wood) Stinner, [?] who founded a seminary for young

ladies at Mount Carroll, Illinois. He came from a fine family of educated Christian people.

Copy of a letter written by Tallmadge B. Wood, about April, 1844, from Willamette Falls, Oregon, to his friends at Milton, Saratoga County, New York. The letter is written on large foolscap paper, tinted blue, and the lines on which the writing is placed are a shade of darker blue. This letter was nicely written; the letters were at a slant of about forty-five degrees.—*Florence E. Baker.*

One year has elapsed since I had an opportunity of communicating with you: at which time you doubtless recollect receiving a letter from me, which was mailed at Missouri; & in which I informed you of my intention to take a trip to Oregon, which I accordingly did, & after seven months tedious traveling, arrived at Willamet Fall, on a branch of the Columbia River. My road lay through a *Savage country*, a distance of Twenty-three hundred miles, which you are aware makes it necessary to travel in caravans. As I presume you have a curiosity to know how we journeyed, & the country &c, I will attempt to give you as much of a description as the limited space of a *letter* will allow: I set out (from Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, which is the general place of rendezvous for emigrants to this country;) April 25th, 1843; in a company of One thousand: three hundred of which were able men; the remainder were women & children.

There was three [one] hundred & twenty wagons, drawn by oxen or mules (chiefly oxen) of about three yoke to each wagon;⁹ they performed the journey admirably, I was myself equipped with two yoke of cattle, to haul *my* provisions: two Horses & one Mule, to ride by turn, & though my horses & mule were of the *best* quality, they were not sufficient to carry me the whole distance. We also had about two thousand head of cows, young cattle, & horses. We traveled in some confusion, 'till we arrived at Con [Kaw or Kansas] River, a distance of about ninety miles from Missouri line; We there found it necessary to have some order in traveling, for which purpose we elected Officers, & came under a sort of military discipline, & thus marched very pleasantly through a fertile country, until we arrived at Blue River, a branch of the Con. [* *] Here we found our stock was too large to get sufficient sustenance from one campground, therefore we concluded to sepperate & form two divisions, & march a few miles apart. I had the honor of being second in command, of the division in which I traveled. We struck Big Platte River about 300 miles from the Missouri line. We

⁹ Compare with statistics given in Burnett's letters following.

traveled up the river a few days & crossed South Platte, passed through Black hills, crossed the North Platte & steered our course towards Sweet Water which we struck at the entrance of the pass through the Rocky Mountains which place is called Independence-Rock, So named from the circumstance of the Mountainers meeting here to celebrate the Fourth. The pass through the Mountains is about Ninety miles but so gradual, that the traveler would scarcely perceive he was ascending, were it not for the great change in the atmosphere. We were on the *Divide* in July, & saw *ice* every morning, At no great distance on the right & left, are very high, snow peaks, We found great abundance of game from South Platte, until we left Sweet Water. I amused myself very well in killing Buffaloes though it was *old* sport to me. After crossing the Mountains, we *passed* Green River (or Colrado of the west;) Struck Bear River & followed it up to the Soda Springs. These Springs (which are numerous at this place) are among the great curiosities of the west: The waters of these springs are similar in flavour to those of Ballston & Saratoga, though *some* of them are very cold and *much* stronger, while there are others *very hot*. We arrived at Fort Hall the last of September. *Here*, (though two thirds the distance was passed);¹⁰ the difficulties of the journey just commenced, though not so difficult as had been represented, yet the roads from this place were *very rough* & grass in many places *very scarce*. We followed down Snake River, passed the Blue Mountains & arrived at the very foot of the Cascades; Here many left their wagons & descended the Columbia River in boats, while others crossed the Cascades (a distance of Ninety miles). But the emigrants all arrived in the Valley between the Cascades & Pacific Ocean, about the last of November. The whole distance, from the Platte River, to the east base of the Blue Mountains, is entirely unfit for the residence of civilized man, and is inhabited only by wandering tribes of hostile Indians. They however did not trouble the Emigration, as the *Sight* of so large a body of whites, was sufficient to quell all hostility. The country from the eastern base of the Blue Mountains, to the Cascades, is peculiarly adapted to grazing purposes. The Indians in this vicinity, are not hostile, & are quite enterprising. They are anxious to own cattle & some are getting considerable herds they are also very fond of horses & some individual Indians own several thousand head of the handsomest I ever saw. The country between the Cascades & the Sea coast is some parts very heavy timbered lands, with a deep, rich soil though rather broken to please a western man. The size of the timber is enormous, there being abundance of trees measuring three hundred feet in height, & some as large as twenty feet in diameter. *Big trees! but it is a fact.* The timber of

¹⁰ Compare with table of distances in Burnett letters.

this country is of a different kind from that of the states though generally of the Pine & Cedar species, with the exception of Oak & Soft Maple. The Prairies of this country are beautiful, full equal to any in Missouri or Illinois. They are generally found on the head of water courses. The land produces most all the productions of the States, in great perfection, except *corn*. Wheat is raised here in large quantities which is exported (by the Hudson Bay Co.) to the Islands & northern Russia. Wheat is worth one Dollar per bushel, Beef \$6 per hundred. Pork \$10 per hundred. These prices will probably hold good, & may increase as soon as we can produce a surplus sufficient to supply the *Whaling* Vessels, which will induce them to make more frequent calls on us. The first settlers *here*, were men who were discharged from the service of the Hudson Bay Co. & as they draw all their wages in *Supplies*; & all the cash brought here by emigrants goes immediately into the hands of merchants and is taken out of the country; hence we are left entirely destitute of a cash currency. Yet we have a currency which is not liable to fluctuations: any responsible man's order is good with the merchants for their amount in goods: & these orders are finally redeemed in Wheat, Pork or Beef. The Indians on the Columbia are a cowardly, thievish, indolent race of beings, subsisting almost entirely on Fish. The Indians on the coast are in small bands & disunited, on which circumstance the safety of the settlers of Oregon much depends: We however, had a small affray with them a few days ago, in which one white man was killed & one Indian. The Territory is well supplied with navigable streams & mill privileges. As to the climate I can speak only of the past winter, during which we have had no snow, & the grass has been in growing condition the whole winter, in short it has been the most pleasant (so far) I ever experienced in *any* country. It is exceedingly healthy, there is no sickness in the country at present, & although the emigrants were so much exposed during the journey, there has been but *two* deaths since our arrival.—The whole white population is probably about Fifteen Hundred. We, the citizens of Oregon, are very anxious that the United States should extend her jurisdiction over *this territory* & render us some means of protection, as we should be incapable of protecting ourselves in case of general hostilities with the Indians.

For *my* part, I am much pleased with the prospects of the country. I have a location immediately on the Columbia River, in *sight* of the great Pacific, I can go to & return from the coast, in a small boat with one tide, which ebbs & flows 8 & ten feet. I am engaged in partnership with two other persons, in having erected two saw mills & a grist Mill, we are making good progress, & will soon have one in operation. I believe we have an as advantageous a mill sight as any in America. We intend exporting our lumber to the Islands, as *there* is a *very* great demand for it, & as one of the gentlemen with whom I am engaged,

has two Brigs in the Island trade, our expenses for exportation will be trifling:—

Just say (for me) to the young men of old Milton, Don't live & die in sight of your Father's house, but take a trip to Oregon! you can perform the journey in two years & I am sure you will never regret spending the time. But, if they should come to *settle here*, I would advise them, to bring a wife along, as ladies are (like the specie) very scarce. And if you have any *maiden* ladies about dying in despair, just fit up their teeth well, & send them to Oregon.

I shall have an opportunity to write to you again when our ships leave, which will be in July or August. T. B. WOOD."

[Printed in the New York Herald in 1844-45.]

LETTERS OF PETER H. BURNETT.

Burnett in his "Recollections of an Old Pioneer," page 177, says: "During the winter of 1843-44 I had, while at Linnton, written some hundred and twenty-five foolscap pages of manuscript giving a description of the journey and of the country along the route, as well as of Oregon. I had stated the exact truth to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief; and my communications were published in the *New York Herald*, and were extensively read, especially in the western states."

The *Herald* (daily) of Saturday morning, December 28, 1844, says editorially: "We received yesterday, and publish in our columns this morning, some very interesting intelligence from the Oregon Territory, which is now a subject of very important negotiation between our government and that of England, and will probably be a matter of great debate in Congress."

The *Herald* published five different sections of the Burnett material in the form of five letters, four in the daily and one in the weekly. In addition to this, the weekly of December 28, 1844, published the same matter found in the daily of the same date. The daily of January 6, 1845, published the second and fourth sections—two letters in the same issue. It is evident that the *Herald* rearranged

the order of the sections in printing. It printed first—the installment of December 28, 1844—what was probably the closing portion of the manuscript. The sections are given below in what appears to be their natural order—the order in which they were composed. This Burnett material was sent to New York naturally under one enclosure.

If Burnett wrote at this time “some hundred and twenty-five pages of foolscap,” as he says he did, not more than half of his manuscript was printed by the *Herald*. For that number of pages of foolscap published would have filled at least fifteen columns of the *Herald*, whereas the matter printed constituted hardly seven and one fourth columns; and I shall point out later that it is almost certain that this Burnett manuscript, as a whole, was used for the Wilkes’ account of the migration of 1843, and Wilkes covers the whole trip, and not merely a portion of it, as do the *Herald* letters.

In his “Recollections,” page 101, Burnett says: “I kept a concise journal of the trip as far as Walla Walla, and have it now before me.” This journal no doubt furnished the basis of his narrative in the first four letters and of the twenty-seven pages in his “Recollections” in which he describes the trip. In fact, the resemblance between this part of the “Recollections” and these letters is so striking and of such a character as to suggest that this part of the “Recollections” was written up from a first draft of the letters, which he would naturally have retained and preserved when sending the letters to the *Herald*. The historical significance of this probability is that it makes this portion of the “Recollections” virtually a contemporary source for the whole of the migration of 1843.

The last date on the journey given by the letters is June 27th. Yet it seems almost certain that the copy sent by Burnett to the *Herald* covered the whole trip. One reason

for this inference is found in Burnett's statement of the amount of copy that he sent—"some hundred and twenty-five pages of foolscap;" a second distinct basis for this conclusion is found in connection with George Wilkes' "History of Oregon," published in New York in 1845. The title page of that book reads as follows: "The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political, by George Wilkes. Embracing an analysis of the old Spanish claims, the British pretensions, the United States title; an account of the present condition and character of the country, and a thorough examination of the project of a national railroad, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. To which is added a journal of the events of the celebrated emigrating expedition of 1843; containing an account of the route from Missouri to Astoria, a table of distances, and the physical and political description of the territory, and its settlements, by a member of the recently organized Oregon legislature." In the preface the reference to the journal mentioned in the title is as follows: "The second part of the work consists of a journal, prepared from a series of letters written by a gentleman now in Oregon, who himself accompanied the celebrated emigrating expedition of 1843." After a sentence about the style of the letters he goes on to say: "The author (Wilkes) has done scarcely more to this portion than to throw it into chapters, and to strike from it such historical and geographical statistics as had been drawn from other sources and arranged in the preceding portions of the work. These letters fell into his hands after the adoption and commencement of his original design; and adapting them to his purposes by linking them with his own manuscripts, a deal of research was saved him by the valuable and peculiar information they contributed." These statements by Wilkes concerning the author and the character of the material used by him in Part II of his book, along with indubitable internal

evidence, prove conclusively that the whole Burnett manuscript sent to the *New York Herald*, part of which was printed in the *Herald* and is now reprinted below, was the basis of Wilkes' book. Wilkes, however, asserts that he "has done scarcely more to this portion (Part II) than to throw it into chapters and to strike from it such historical and geographical statistics," etc. The following excerpts from his version, when compared to the corresponding portions of the Burnett narrative in the letters, prove that Wilkes took such liberties with the original as in his judgment were necessary to make an interesting story, and to support the contention of his book, namely, that the route was a practicable one for a national railroad. To realize how freely Wilkes used his imagination, along with the Burnett text, it is only necessary to compare the following transcript from the opening paragraphs of Part II of Wilkes' book with the first page or two of the letters:

It is not necessary, to the object in view, that the writer of this journal should furnish the reason which induced him to turn his face toward the wilderness. Let it suffice that on the morning of the seventeenth of May, 1843, I (to drop the third person) mounted my horse in Independence, Missouri, and set out for the general rendezvous. This was situated in a little spot about twenty miles distant, in a southeast direction. I did not start alone. A family of the name of Robbins, from the northern part of Pennsylvania, were my companions. The party consisted of a husband and wife, two chubby boys, one six and the other eight years of age, and a bouncing baby of eighteen months, or thereabouts.

After having examined for the twentieth time if all the necessities required for the journey were properly stowed away in the wagon, and after having for the last time jerked at the trace, settled this and that portion of the harness, looked under the horses, passed his hand over the near one's flank, and walked completely around the concern, John Robbins mounted his seat, gave a sonorous *ahem!* in evidence of his complete satisfaction, and describing a preparatory circle with his lash, was about bringing it down on the backs of his team, when a little circumstance in the body of his wagon interrupted his purpose and softened the threatened sweep of the gad into an oblique flourish that spent its elegance in a faint snap near the ground.

He had turned his head for the *twenty-first* time to see that all was right in the canvass domicile behind, when he discerned that Mrs. Robbins was yielding to the weakness of her bosom at the separation of the last link that bound her to the associations of early youth, and to the ties of friends and home. The husband kissed away the tears that were tumbling over her full and rosy cheek, spoke a word of encouragement in her ear, and then with a moistened eye himself, turned hastily to his place, brought the whip sharply down, set his features as rigid as a decemvir's, and rattled off at a pace that soon jolted off every vestige of sadness or depression, amid the cheers of a large circle of friends and well-wishers, who had gathered to see us off, and whose benisons floated after us upon the air as if they were unwilling to resign this living evidence of their continual guardianship.

Wilkes continues in this strain through some seven closely printed pages, when he brings in the following incident (it occurred in connection with the meeting for organization held at Big Spring, May 20th):

The strange assemblage was gathered from various sections of the country: they were agitated with various views, and naturally separated into various cliques. Most of them had their favorite plans already cut and dried, and their nominees were all ready to wear the chieftain's mantle. A stormy session was the consequence, and it was evident that the question of commandership would not be decided this day. In the middle of the uproar of the first hour Dumberton, who had given his hair an extra intellectual rush from the front, and arranged the snuff-colored garments in style of superlative finish, managed to obtain the ear of the assemblage. After having waved the crowd into profound silence, he commenced an eulogium on the character of Washington; made patriotic allusions to the Revolution, and the late war; touched on the battle of New Orleans; apostrophised the American eagle, and then wound up his introduction with a very meaning sentiment leveled with great force and earnestness at the "iron arm of despotism." Imagining that he had fairly taken captive the admiration of his audience, Mr. Dumberton, of Big Pigeon, came to the point of his address, and gravely proposed that the emigration should adopt *the criminal laws* of Missouri and Tennessee for its future government.

No sooner had the speaker delivered himself of his proposition than McFarley, who had been chafing like a stung bull for the last half hour, sprang up, and remarked that since the gentleman from Big Pigeon had found out that we had robbers and thieves among us, he (McFarley) would move that a penitentiary be engaged to travel in company if his proposal should pass.

Wilkes requires over five thousand words to reach the account of the above incident. Burnett's narrative uses less than four hundred. The above excerpts might raise the suspicion that the letters that Wilkes represents he is using are not the Burnett letters. The transcript given below will, I think, dispel all doubts :

There is perhaps no flesh more delicious to the traveler's appetite than buffalo meat, particularly that cut from a fat young buffalo cow; and it has the peculiar advantage of allowing you to eat as much as you please without either surfeit or oppression. I shall never forget the exquisite meal I made on the evening of the first of June. I had been out hunting all day, was very weary, and as hungry as a whole wilderness of tigers. Out of compassion for my complete fatigue, Mrs. Burnett cooked six large slices from a fat young buffalo for my supper. My extravagant hunger induced me to believe when I first saw the formidable array served up, that I could readily dispose of three of them. I *did* eat three of them, but I found they were but the prologue for the fourth, the fourth to the fifth, and that to the sixth, and I verily believe that had the line stretched out the crack of doom I should have staked my fate upon another and another collop of the prairie king. This story hardly does me credit, but the worst is to come, for two hours afterward I shared the supper of Dumberton, and on passing Captain Gant's tent on my way *home* I accepted an invitation from him to a bit of broiled tongue: yet even after this, I went to bed with an unsatisfied appetite. I am no cormorant, though I must admit I acted very much like one on this occasion. My only consolation and excuse, however, is that I was not a single instance of voracity in my attacks upon broiled buffalo meat.

This story should be compared with the latter part of the third letter. Comments are quite unnecessary.

Wilkes' tactics in rendering Burnett's letters are not merely those of one who would conceal authorship but those of one who deliberately perverts history. He not only changes the names of emigrants, but is careful to represent that Burnett is not the author of his text. On page 65, he says: "I should not omit to mention here, that I was also introduced this afternoon to Mr. Peter H. Burnett, who was subsequently made captain of the expedition." He not only garbles, but deliberately falsifies. On

page 82, he says: "The region we passed through from the thirtieth of July up to the twenty-ninth of August, comprised all the passes through to Rocky Mountains, and was by far the most arduous and difficult portion of the whole journey." Between these dates the emigration proceeded from the headwaters of the Sweetwater to Fort Hall; but Burnett, in his "Recollections," as explicitly affirms that the most difficult and arduous portion of the journey was not encountered until the emigration had passed Fort Hall. The editor thought it worth while to go into the question of the relation of these important sources, that are now being made generally accessible, to one that should be condemned. His conclusions have important applications to the Whitman controversy.

The conclusions are (A) that the more important contemporary sources, so far as known, of data on the migration of 1843 and of Doctor Whitman's services to it are (a) Burnett's Journal (unpublished) in the possession of his descendants; (b) the Burnett *Herald* letters given below; (c) the letter of Tallmadge B. Wood, printed for the first time in this number of the QUARTERLY; (d) a letter by M. M. McCarver, dated November 6, 1843, to Hon. A. C. Dodge, delegate to Congress from Iowa, printed in the *Burlington Gazette* and reprinted in the *Ohio Statesman*. This letter will be reproduced in the next number of the QUARTERLY. (e) Excerpt from *New Orleans Picayune*, November 21, 1843, reprinted in QUARTERLY, vol. I, pages 398-401. (B) The account given in Part II of Wilkes' History of Oregon, purporting to be a faithful rendering of a contemporary journal is a more or less garbled version of the Burnett manuscript sent from Linnton to James G. Bennett which fell into the hands of Wilkes.

[The editor is indebted to Professor Joseph Schafer for the data of this criticism.]

[From New York Herald, January 5, 1845.]

LINNTON, Oregon Territory, January 18, 1844.

James G. Bennett, Esq.—

DEAR SIR: Having arrived safely in this beautiful country, and having seen, at least, its main features, I propose to give you some concise description of the same, as well as a short history of our trip. I reached the rendezvous, twenty miles from Independence, on the seventeenth of May, and found a large body of emigrants there, waiting for the company to start. On the 18th we held a meeting, and appointed a committee to see Doctor Whitman, for the purpose of obtaining information in regard to the practicability of the trip. Other committees were also appointed, and the meeting adjourned to meet again, at the Big Spring, on the 20th. On the 20th, all the emigrants, with few exceptions, were there, as well as several from the western part of Missouri. The object of the meeting was to organize, by adopting some rules for our government. The emigrants were from various places, unacquainted with each other, and there were among them many persons emulous of distinction, and anxious to wear the honors of the company. A great difference of opinion existed as to the proper mode of organization, and many strange propositions were made. I was much amused at some of them. A fat, robust, old gentleman, who had, as he said, a great deal of "beatherlusian," whose name was Mc-Healy, proposed that the company, by contribution, should purchase two wagons and teams for the purpose of hauling two large boats, to be taken all the way with us, that we might be able to cross the streams. A red-faced old gentleman from east Tennessee state, high up on Big Pidgeon, near Kit Bullard's Mill, whose name was Dulany, generally styled "Captain," most seriously proposed that the meeting should adopt the criminal laws of Missouri or Tennessee, for the government of the company. This proposition he supported by an able speech, and several speeches were made in reply. Some one privately suggested that we should also take along a penitentiary, if Captain Dulany's proposition should pass. These two propositions were voted for by the movers alone. A set of rules were adopted, a copy of which I send you. Capt. John Grant [Gant?] was employed as our pilot, and a general understanding that we should start on the 22d.

On the twenty-second of May, we commenced one of the most arduous and important trips undertaken in modern times. We traveled fifteen miles, to Elm Grove, where we encamped for the night. The road and weather were most delightful, and the place of encampment most beautiful. There are only two trees in this grove—both elms—and I have learned for the first time that two trees could compose a grove. The small elm was most beautiful, in the wild and lonely prairie, and the large one had been so, but its branches had been cut

off for fuel. A few small swamp dogwood bushes supplied us with fuel—and we found fuel scarcer at no place on the road than at this point. The weather since the thirteenth of May had been fine. I have never witnessed a scene more beautiful than this. Elm Grove stands in a wide, gently undulating prairie. The moon shed her silvery light upon the white sheets of sixty wagons; a thousand herd of cattle grazed upon the surrounding plain; fifty camp fires sent up their brilliant flames, and the sound of the sweet violin was heard in the tents. All was stir and excitement—

“The scene was more beautiful far to my eye,
Than if day in its pride had arrayed it;
The land breeze blew mild, and the azure arched sky
Looked pure as the Spirit that made it.”

At the rendezvous, as well as elsewhere, we were greatly amused by the drolleries of many a curious wag. Among the rest was J. M. Ware, a most pleasant fellow, droll, original, like no one else, who had seen some of the world, and whose mimicry, dry wit, graphic descriptions, and comic songs, afforded us infinite amusement. Many of our friends, who came to visit us at the rendezvous, will never forget the pleasant evenings they spent, while witnessing the exhibitions of this comical fellow. Ware was an old bachelor, with all the eccentricity usually belonging to that sweet class of fellows. The whole camp were constantly singing his songs, and telling his tales. Among the rest he sang—

“If I had a donkey that wouldn’t go,
Do you think I’d wallup him? no! no! no!”

And also—

“A gay young crow was sitting on an oak.”

I remember well his description of George Swartz, a Dutchman, in Kentucky, who turned out a preacher. Ware said he knew him well, and was present and heard George preach his first sermon. He said George gravely arose in the pulpit, and after gazing some time around him, in a loud and commanding voice he commenced: “Me tinks I hear my Savior say, ‘Shorge, what you doin’ up dar in dat bulpit?’ Me say neber mind Shorge—he knows what he’s ’bout—he’s goin’ breachin; brethren, let us bray. I tank de, O Lort Got, dat a few names of us have come up to worship in dy house, through the inclemency of de mud.” I will just say that Ware is here, safe and sound, and I expect to hear him repeat many of his comicalities. A few such men, on a trip like this, can beguile many a lonesome hour, and soften the asperities of the way.

The following are the rules and regulations for the government of the Oregon Emigrating Company:

Resolved, Whereas we deem it necessary for the government of all societies, either civil or military, to adopt certain rules and regula-

tions for their government, for the purpose of keeping good order and promoting civil and military discipline. In order to insure union and safety, we deem it necessary to adopt the following rules and regulations for the government of the said company :—

Rule 1. Every male person of the age of sixteen, or upward, shall be considered a legal voter in all affairs relating to the company.

Rule 2. There shall be nine men elected by a majority of the company, who shall form a council, whose duty it shall be to settle all disputes arising between individuals, and to try and pass sentence on all persons for any act for which they may be guilty, which is subversive of good order and military discipline. They shall take especial cognizance of all sentinels and members of the guard, who may be guilty of neglect of duty, or sleeping on post. Such persons shall be tried, and sentence passed upon them at the discretion of the council. A majority of two thirds of the council shall decide all questions that may come before them, subject to the approval or disapproval of the captain. If the captain disapprove of the decision of the council, he shall state to them his reasons, when they shall again pass upon the question, and if the same decision is again made by the same majority, it shall be final.

Rule 3. There shall be a captain elected who shall have supreme military command of the company. It shall be the duty of the captain to maintain good order and strict discipline, and as far as practicable, to enforce all rules and regulations adopted by the company. Any man who shall be guilty of disobedience of orders shall be tried and sentenced at the discretion of the council, which may extend to expulsion from the company. The captain shall appoint the necessary number of duty sergeants, one of whom shall take charge of every guard, and who shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the captain.

Rule 4. There shall be an orderly sergeant elected by the company, whose duty it shall be to keep a regular roll, arranged in alphabetical order, of every person subject to guard duty in the company; and shall make out his guard details by commencing at the top of the roll and proceeding to the bottom, thus giving every man an equal tour of guard duty. He shall also give the member of every guard notice when he is detailed for duty. He shall also parade every guard, call the roll, and inspect the same at the time of mounting. He shall also visit the guard at least once every night, and see that the guard are doing strict military duty, and may at any time give them the necessary instructions respecting their duty, and shall regularly make report to the captain every morning, and be considered second in command.

Rule 5. The captain, orderly sergeant, and members of the council shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the company, and it shall be the duty of the council, upon the application of one third or more of the company, to order a new election for either captain, orderly sergeant, or new member or members of the council, or for all or any of them, as the case may be.

Rule 6. The election of officers shall not take place until the company meet at Kansas River.

Rule 7. No family shall be allowed to take more than three loose cattle to every male member of the family of the age of sixteen and upward.

I propose to give you a very concise description of the route, some of the most prominent objects we saw upon the way, and a statement of the distances from point to point. I will here remark, once for all, that the distances were estimated by me every evening when we encamped; and that I put them down in my journal fully as great as I think they ought to be. They are not ascertained by admeasurement,

but are merely guessed at. I will now give you a table of the distances, etc., at this point, that you may the better understand what I shall afterwards relate :

	<i>Miles.</i>
From Independence to Rendezvous.....	20
Rendezvous to Elm Grove.....	15
Elm Grove to Walkalusia.....	22
Same to Kansas River.....	31
Kansas River to Big Sandy.....	31
Sandy to Hurricane Branch.....	12
Hurricane Branch to East Fork of Blue River.....	20
East Fork to West Fork of Blue River.....	15
West Fork to where we came in sight of the Republican Fork of Blue River.....	41
Up Republican Fork of Blue to where we left it to cross over to Big Platte.....	66
Blue to Big Platte.....	25
Up Platte to where we saw first herd of buffalo.....	56
Up same to crossing on South Fork.....	117
Crossing to North Fork of Platte.....	31
Up North Fork to Cedar Grove.....	18
Up North Fork to Solitary Tower.....	18
Up North Fork to Chimney.....	18
Up North Fork to Scott's Bluffs.....	20
Up same to Fort Larimer.....	38
Fort Larimer [Laramie?] to Big Spring, at foot of Black Hills.....	8
To Keryan on North Fork.....	30
To crossing on North Fork.....	84
To Sweetwater.....	55
Up Sweetwater to where we first saw the eternal snows of the Rocky Mountains.....	60
To main dividing ridge of the Rocky Mountains.....	40
To first water that runs into the Pacific.....	2
To Little Sandy.....	14
To Big Sandy.....	14
To Green River.....	25
Down same.....	12
To Black's Fork of Green River.....	22
To Fort Bridger.....	30
To Big Muddy.....	20
To Bear River.....	37
Down Bear River to range of hills which run up to the river.....	57
Down Bear River to Great Saduspring [Soda Spring?].....	38
To Partnith [Portneuf?], first water of the Columbia.....	25
To Fort Hall on Snake River.....	58
To Partnith [Portneuf?] again.....	11
To Rock Creek.....	87
To Salmon Falls on Snake River.....	42
To crossing on Snake River.....	27
To Boiling Spring.....	19
To Boisé River (pronounced Boa-sie).....	48
Down same to Fort Boisé on Snake River.....	40
To Bunt River.....	41
Up same.....	25
Cross to Powder River at "Lane Pens".....	18
To Grande Ronde.....	15
To Utilia [Umatilla?] River over Blue Mountains.....	43
To Doctor Whitman's.....	29
To Walla Walla.....	25

Making in all about one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six miles from Independence to Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia River. From Walla Walla to the Methodist Mission, at The Dalles, is about one hundred and twenty miles, and from The Dalles to Vancouver it is called one hundred miles, making the distance from Independence to Vancouver, by route we traveled, one thousand nine hundred and forty-six miles. I am well satisfied that the distance does not exceed two thousand miles, for the reason that ox teams could not have traveled further than we did, traveling in the manner we did.

Your friend,

P. H. B.

[From New York Herald, January 6, 1845.]

LINNTON, Oregon Territory, 1844.

James G. Bennett, Esq.—

DEAR SIR: In my former communication I gave you some account of our trip as far as Elm Grove, fifteen miles from the rendezvous. On the twenty-fourth of May we crossed the Walkalusia, a tributary of the Kansas, about twenty yards wide, clear running water, over a pebbly bed. We let our wagons down the bank (which was very steep) with ropes. There was, however, a very practicable ford, unknown to us, about one hundred yards above. We here saw three Potawotomie Indians, who rode fine horses, with martingales, bridles, and saddles. We found very few fish in this stream. On the twenty-sixth of May we reached Kansas River, which was too high to ford; and we prepared a platform, by uniting two large canoes together—and commenced crossing on the 29th. On the 27th we held a meeting, and appointed a committee of three to make arrangements for crossing the river. The committee attempted to hire Pappa's platform (a Frenchman who lived at the crossing,) but no reasonable arrangement could be made with him. Before we had finished our platform, some of the company made a private arrangement with Pappa for themselves, and commenced crossing. This produced great dissatisfaction in camp. On the 28th Pappa's platform sank, and several men, women, and children came near being drowned, but all escaped with the loss of some property. As yet no organization, and no guard out. Wagons still coming in rapidly. On the thirtieth of May two Catholic missionaries to the Flathead Indians arrived and crossed the river. The Kansas is here a wide stream, with sandy banks and bottom. I suppose it to be about a quarter mile wide at this point. The water was muddy, like that of the Missouri River. We finished crossing on the thirty-first of May. Our encampment was on Black Warrior Creek; very uncomfortable, as our stock were constantly sticking fast in the mud upon its banks. On the first of June we organized the company, by electing Peter H. Burnett commander in chief and Mr. Nesmith orderly sergeant. On the 4th we crossed Big Sandy, a large creek with high banks. Last night we had a hard rain. Last evening we saw several of the Kansas chiefs, who visited our encampment. Our usual mode of encampment was to form a hollow square with the wagons. When we organized we had about one hundred and ten wagons and two hundred and sixty-three men, all able to bear arms. On the 5th we crossed the East Fork of Blue, a large creek, and a tributary of the Kansas, and on the 6th, in the evening, we crossed the West Fork of Blue, a small river, about fifty yards wide. Contrary to our expectations, we found it fordable, by propping up our wagon beds with large blocks of wood. We encamped for the night on a level prairie, dry and beautiful. In the night we had an immense thunderstorm, and

torrents of rain. Half the tents blew down, and nearly the whole encampment was flooded with water eight inches deep. We were in a most uncomfortable predicament next morning, and nearly all wet. We this day met a war party of Osages and Kansas Indians, consisting of about ninety warriors. They all rode ponies, were painted, and their heads shaven, and had one Pawnee scalp, with the ears still to it, and full of wampum. This scalp had tolerably long hair upon it, and they had divided it into some five or six different pieces, some with an ear to them, and some with part of the cheek. The Kansas and Osages are the most miserable, cowardly, and dirty Indians we saw east of the Rocky Mountains. They annoyed us greatly by their continual begging. We gave this war party bread and meat, and a calf; they said they had eaten nothing for three days. Two of this party were wounded severely, one in the shoulder and the other in another part. They had killed but one Pawnee, who had wounded these two before he fell. The Kansas Indians, however, did not steal from us, except perhaps a horse or two which were missing, but which might have escaped back to the Kansas River. On the 7th we removed our encampment one half mile to a place we supposed to be dry; but in the night another severe storm of rain succeeded, and again flooded half the encampment. On the 8th we traveled five miles to a grove of green elm trees, and it again rained in torrents, but our encampment was upon high ground this time. P. H. Burnett this day resigned the command of the company in consequence of ill health. On the 9th the clouds dispersed, and we traveled five miles to find wood, where we dried our clothes. The company now separated into two parties, one under the command of Capt. Jesse Applegate, and the other reorganized by electing William Martin commander. Martin's company had about seventy-two wagons and one hundred and seventy-five men. On the 10th we met a company of four wagons from Fort Larimer [Laramie], with furs and peltries, going to Independence. They had with them several buffalo calves. As yet we saw no game of any kind, except a few straggling deer. This day Mr. Casan and others saw the corpse of an Indian in the prairie: his head had been cut off and was badly scalped, and left to be eaten up by the buzzards. This, no doubt, was the same Indian killed and scalped by the war party of the Osages and Kansas. On the 11th we had a fall of rain in the evening, before dark, but none in the night. On the 12th the whole company were thrown into a state of great excitement by the news, which reached us, that Captain Gant and some others had killed a large buffalo. He was a venerable old bull, by himself, and was discovered by the hunters at about one mile distant: they run upon him with their horses and shot him with their large horse-pistols; seven balls were fired into him before he fell. The animal was not very fat, and was tough eating. He had, no doubt, been left here in the spring by other buffaloes. These

animals frequently come down upon the waters of Blue River to spend the winter among the rushes, which are abundant in the bottoms near the stream; but they return in the spring. On the fourteenth of June we passed over a level plain of rich prairie land, equal to any in the world for farming purposes; but it was wild, solitary prairie.

On the 15th one of the company killed an antelope—an animal not very plenty in this region, but seen occasionally for the last three or four days. June 16th, one deer and one antelope were killed, and we had a most beautiful race between an antelope and some fleet dogs. The animal ran down the line of wagons for about two miles, in full view, about two hundred yards from us; and as fast as he would leave one dog behind, another would come in from the wagons. Why the animal did not change his course, I can not tell, unless perhaps he was too much confused. Perhaps no animal in the world is so fleet as this beautiful creature. He will weigh about as much as a deer, has hair of much the same length and color, is formed a little like the goat, but is much more slender and neat in his form. The bucks have horns, with several prongs to them, not so long as the horns of a deer, and of a black color. The bucks have black stripes, about an inch wide, running down from under each ear, and continuing under each eye toward the nose. These stripes, and thin black hairs, give the animal quite a fanciful appearance. Nothing is more beautiful and graceful than the movements of this active animal. He runs very smoothly; not in irregular bounds, like the deer. Mr. Lindsay Applegate, who had two very fleet greyhounds with him, stated to me that he one day witnessed a race between his best greyhound and an antelope. He said the antelope and dog were running at right angles towards each other, and the antelope did not discover the dog until the dog was within twenty feet of him. The struggle then commenced, and they ran about a quarter of a mile, each doing his utmost; but the antelope outran the dog so far, that the dog stopped still, and looked after the antelope in utter astonishment. The dog had often run upon deer and wolves with ease. The antelope is a very wary animal, and difficult of approach. His curiosity is, however, very great; and the hunter, adapting himself to the habits of the animal, conceals himself behind a hillock of sand, or other object, and putting his hat, cap, or handkerchief upon the end of his gunstick, he raises it about two feet, gently waiving it backward and forward. As soon as the antelope sees it, he approaches gradually nearer and nearer, making a sort of snorting noise, and alternately approaching and retreating, until he comes within reach of the hunter's trusty rifle. He is not very tenacious of life, and a small wound will disable him, so that he surrenders. The antelope, though exceedingly fleet, can be run down on horseback, when very fat, by continuing the chase about twenty miles. Mr.

Nolan, who had been in the region of the Rocky Mountains several years, so informed me ; and he also stated that the wolves very frequently run them down, and that he had often fell in with the wolves and the antelope when the latter was much jaded with the race, and had then caught the antelope himself. June 17th we encamped for the last time on Blue River. Our course since the 13th has been up the Republican Fork of Blue. Here we saw a hunting party of Pawnees, who were returning from a buffalo hunt south. They had not their heads shaved like the Kansas Indians ; but their hair was cut like white men, and they were fine looking fellows. They had many packs of buffalo meat, which they cure by cutting it into very thin, long, and wide slices, with the grain of the meat, and then drying it in the sun. After it is dried they have a mode of pressing it between two pieces of timber, which gives it a very smooth and regular appearance. Of this meat they gave us very liberally. They amused themselves very much, by imitating our driving of cattle and teams. We informed them of the war party of Kansas and Osages that we had seen, and they were much excited, and vowed to take vengeance upon their enemies. They did not interrupt us, or our stock, but were very kind and friendly. The road from independence to this point is generally through prairie and a most excellent road, except the fords upon the streams, which are miry, and difficult to cross. The Kansas country as it may be called, is nineteen-twentieths prairie, generally fertile, but destitute of timber, except upon the streams. This timber is elm, low burr oak, and small swamp ash, along the margin of the streams. I saw only a very few places where good farms could be made, for want of timber. This whole country has very little game of any kind, except a very few wild deer and antelope. We saw no squirrels on Blue, and very few birds, except a small species of snipe. I remember a wild-cat, killed by some of the company, that was a mere skeleton, from starvation, no doubt ; but few fish were found in the stream.

Your friend,

P. H. B.

[From New York Weekly Herald, January 18, 1845.]

LINNTON, Oregon Territory, 1844.

James G. Bennett, Esq.—

DEAR SIR : In my letter of the 26th instant, I continued my account of our trip to our last encampment on the waters of the Blue. On the eighteenth day of June we crossed the main dividing ridge between the waters of Kansas and the Great Platte. We traveled twenty-five miles over the finest road imaginable, and our eyes first beheld the wide and beautiful valley of the Great Platte just as the sun was going down behind the bleak sand hills. We encamped in the bottom, about two miles from the river, without fuel. Next morning we

started, without any breakfast, and traveled a few miles, where we found willows for fuel, and where we took a hearty meal. We struck the river near the head of Grand Island, which is seventy-five miles long, covered with timber, and several miles wide, varying greatly, in places, as to width; but what was strange, there was not a solitary tree on the south side of the river where we were. The river above the island, as far as the Forks, is generally about two miles wide. Perhaps this is one of the most remarkable rivers in the world. Like the Nile, it runs hundreds of miles through a sandy desert. The valley of this stream is from fifteen to twenty miles wide, a smooth level plain, and the river generally runs in the middle of it, from west to east. The course of this stream is more uniform than any I have ever seen. It scarcely ever makes a bend. The Platte River was very high until after we had passed Fort Larimer [Laramie?]. This river has low, sandy banks, with sandy bottom, and the water muddy, like that of the Missouri. The current is rapid, and the river being very wide, is very shallow, and easily forded, except in high water. It is full of most beautiful islands of all sizes, covered with beautiful trees, contrasting finely with the wild prairie plains and bold sand hills on each side of the river. The plain on each side of the river extends out to the sand hills, which are about three miles through them, when you ascend up to a wide prairie plain of almost interminable extent. Upon this plain, and sometimes in the sand hills, we found the buffalo, and numbers of white wolves. In the plains, near the river, we generally found the antelope. When the season is wet, as was the case this season, the buffalo resort to the plain beyond the sand hills, where they find water in the ponds, As the summer advances, and the ponds dry up, they approach the river, and are found in the plain near it. You have, perhaps, often heard of buffalo paths. As you go from the river out to the wide plain, beyond the sand hills, through which you must pass, you will find valleys among those hills leading out toward this plain. These valleys are covered with grass, and the buffalo have made numerous paths, not only in these valleys, but over all the hills, where they could pass at all (and they can pass almost anywhere), leading from this wide plain to the river, where they resort for water, in the dry season. These paths are very narrow, and are sunk in the ground six or eight inches deep. In traveling up the Platte, almost every thirty yards we had to cross a path, which was about all the obstruction we met while traveling up this gently inclined plain. While hunting, there is no danger of being lost, for you can find a buffalo path anywhere, and they always lead the nearest route to the river. All the plains are covered with grass; but the plain upon the river has not only the greatest variety, but the most rich and luxuriant grass. The greatest general scarcity of wood we found upon the Platte, before we reached Fort Larimer [Laramie?]. We sometimes found bunches of dry willows, often Indian wigwams

made of willows, but the way in which we generally procured our fuel, was to pick up the pieces of driftwood during the day, and at night we would have plenty. It requires very little fuel. It is necessary to dig a narrow ditch, about eight inches wide, one foot deep, and two or three feet long. This confines the heat, and prevents the wind from scattering the fire.

On the twenty-second day of June, we saw the first band of buffaloes, which contained about fifty, of all ages and sizes. Out of this band two were killed. They were found in the plain close to the river, and were pursued on horseback. Perhaps no sport in the world is so exciting as a buffalo hunt. The fox chase sinks into insignificance when compared to it. The mode of hunting this noble animal is very simple. They are generally found upon the wide plain beyond the sand hills, as I before stated, and you will almost always find them grazing near the head of some hollow leading up near them. When you approach him you must get the wind to blow from him to you; because if you scent him, you will hardly run off, but if he scents you, he is certain to scamper. The sight of the buffalo is very dull, but their sense of smell is very acute. I one day saw a band of about one hundred buffaloes on the opposite side of the river from us, and about two miles off, running parallel with the line of wagons, up the river. When they came directly opposite us, so as to strike the stream of wind, which blew from us directly across the river, they turned suddenly off at right angles, and increased their speed greatly. They had evidently scented us. If you have the wind of them you can approach within a very short distance, near enough to kill them readily with the rifle. When you fire, if you remain still, and do not show yourself, the buffalo will perhaps bring a bound, and then stop, and remain until you have fired several times. If he is wounded he will lie down. If several guns are fired in quick succession it alarms the band, and they all move off in a brisk trot; but if you load and fire slowly you may often kill several before the balance leave. I have seen three or four lying within ten yards of each other. When you have fired as often as you can, and the buffalo have retired beyond the reach of the balls, you return down the hollow to your horses, and having mounted, you approach as near as possible before you show yourself to the animal; and when he sees you, your horse ought to be at the very top of his speed, so as to get near him before he gets under full speed. You may dash at a band of buffaloes not more than one hundred yards off, and they will stand and gaze at you before they start; but when one puts himself in motion, all the rest move instantly, and those lying down will not be far very behind the others, as they rise running. Although they seem to run awkwardly, yet they step away rapidly, and if you lose much time you will have a hard run to overtake them. The better plan is to put your horse at the top of his speed at once. This enables you

to press upon the buffalo at the first of the race, and when you approach within fifty or sixty yards of them, you will find that they can let out a few more links; but if a bull is wounded, even very slightly, the moment you press hard upon him he will turn short around, curl his tail over his back, bow his neck, and face you for a fight. At this time you had as well keep at a convenient distance. If you keep off about fifty yards he will stand, and you may load and fire several times; but you had better not fire at his head, for you will not hurt him much if you hit him, for the ball will never penetrate through the skull bone. Whenever you bring one to bay, if the country is not too broken, and your horse is good, there is no danger of his escape, as you may shoot as often as you please; and whenever you give the animal a deadly shot he will kick as if kicking at some object that attacks him. The buffalo, when excited, is very hard to kill, and you may put several balls through his heart, and he will then live, sometimes for hours. The best place to shoot him is behind the shoulder, at the bulge of the ribs, and just below the backbone, so as to pass through the thick part of the lungs. This is the most deadly of all shots; and when you see the animal cough up blood it is unnecessary to shoot him any more. When you shoot them through the lungs the blood smothers them immediately. The lungs of the buffalo are very large and easily hit by any sort of a marksman. If you pursue a buffalo, not wounded, you may run up by his side, and shoot off your horse. The animal becomes tired after running at the top of his speed for two or three miles, and will then run at a slow gallop. The buffalo is a most noble animal—very formidable in appearance—and in the summer has a very short soft coat of fine wool over his body, from behind his shoulders to his tail. His neck and head are covered with a thick mass of long black wool, almost concealing his short thick horns (the points of which just peep out), and his small eye. This animal has a great deal of bold daring, and it is difficult to turn him from his course.

On the twenty-seventh of June we had stopped our wagons, about one half mile from the river, to spend the noon, and rest our teams. While there, we discovered seven large buffalo bulls slowly moving up the river on the opposite side; and when they were about opposite to us, they plunged into the river, and swam toward us, in the face of wagons, teams, cattle, horses, men and all. Every man shouldered his gun, and some went up, and some down the river, so as to form a complete semicircle. We were all certain that the buffalo would turn back, and recross the river; but on they came, merely turning their course a little around the wagons. You never heard such a bombardment in all your life. Not a buffalo escaped unhurt; and three or four were killed within a very short distance. The buffalo, being a very large object, can be seen at a very great distance. Perhaps the flesh of no animal is more delicious than that of a young buffalo cow, in

good order. You may eat as much as you please, and it will not oppress you. The flesh of the antelope is fine eating, equal to good venison, but more juicy. I remember while we were on Sweetwater, that we remained at one place a day or two: and that one evening I came in from hunting, very hungry. Captain Gant had killed a very fat buffalo cow, and had made me a present of some choice pieces. It was after dinner, and Mrs. B. had six large slices of this meat cooked for me. I supposed I could eat three of them, as I thought they would be sufficient for any one; but when I had eaten them, I felt a strong inclination to eat the fourth, and so I eat them all. About two hours afterward, supper came on, and we had more of this fine meat. Doctor Long took supper with me, and something was said about Oregon. The Doctor remarked, that he feared Oregon was like the buffalo meat, overrated. Said I, "Doctor, I have always thought as you do in regard to buffalo meat until this day, and now I think it has always been underrated." I continued eating until I was ashamed, and left supper hungry. I then went to Captain Gant's tent: and there he had some buffalo tongue cooked nicely, and insisted I should eat a piece. I sat down and eat of the buffalo tongue until I was ashamed, and then went to bed hungry. From this you may infer that I was a gormandizer; but if I can judge impartially, in my own case, I assure you, I was not more so than most persons on the road.

Your friend,

P. H. B.

[January 6, 1845.]

LINNTON, 1844.

James G. Bennett, Esq.—

DEAR SIR: The proper outfit for emigrants is a matter of very great importance, as upon it depends the ease of the journey. As little as we knew about the matter, we were well enough prepared to get here, all safe, and without much suffering on the road. I would even be most willing to travel the same road twice over again, had I the means to purchase cattle in the States; and Mrs. B. (who performed as much labor on the road as any other woman) would most gladly undertake the trip again. There is a good deal of labor to perform on the road, but the weather is so dry and the air so pure and pleasant, and your appetite so good, that the labor becomes easy. I had more pleasure in eating on this trip than I ever did in the same time before, which would have been greater had it not been for the eternal apprehension of difficulties ahead. Whether we were to leave our wagons, or whether we were to be out of provisions, was all uncertain, and kept us in a state of painful suspense. This state of uncertainty can not exist again, as the way is broken and conclusively shown to be practicable. The sedge, which was a great impediment to us, we broke down completely, and left behind us a good wagon road, smooth and easy. Those

who come after us will be better prepared, and they will have no apprehension about a scarcity of provisions. There is not the slightest danger of starvation, and not the least danger of suffering, if even ordinary care is taken. Emigrants may now come, knowing that the property they start with they can bring clear through; and when they reach here it will be worth about twice, and some of it (all their cattle) four times as much as it was when they left the States. There is no danger of suffering for water, as you will find it every evening, and always good, except perhaps at one or two places—not more; and by filling a four-gallon keg every morning, you have it convenient all day. Fuel on the way is scarce at some points, but we never suffered for want of fuel. You travel up or down streams nearly all the way, upon which you will find dry willows, which make an excellent fire, and where you find no willows, the sedge answers all purposes. Nothing burns more brilliantly than the sedge; even the green seems to burn almost as readily as the dry, and it catches as quick as dry shavings, but it does not make as good coals to cook with as the willows. The wagons for this trip should be two-horse wagons, plain yankee beds, the running gear made of good materials, and fine workmanship, with falling tongues; and all in a state of good repair. A few extra iron bolts, linepins, skeins, paint bands for the axle, one cold chisel, a few pounds of wrought nails, assorted, several papers of cut tacks, and some hoop iron, and a punch for making holes in the hoop iron, a few chisels, handsaw, drawing-knife, axes, and tools generally; it would be well to bring, especially, augers, as they may be needed on the way for repairing. All light tools that a man has, that do not weigh too much, he ought to bring. Falling tongues are greatly superior to others, though both will do. You frequently pass across hollows that have very steep, but short banks, where falling tongues are preferable, and there are no trees on the way to break them. The wagon sheets should be double and not painted, as that makes them break. The wagon bows should be well made and strong, and it is best to have sideboards, and have the upper edge of the wagon body beveled outward, so that the water running down the wagon sheet, when it strikes the body, may run down on the outside; and it is well to have the bottom of the bed beveled in the same way, that the water may not run inside the wagon. Having your wagons well prepared, they are as secure, almost, as a house. Tents and wagon sheets are best made of heavy brown cotton drilling, and will last well all the way. They should be well fastened down. When you reach the mountains, if your wagons are not well made of seasoned timber, the tires become loose. This is very easily repaired by taking the hoop iron, taking the nails out of the tire, and driving the hoop iron under the tire and between it and the felloes; the tire you punch, and make holes through the hoop iron and drive in your nails, and all will be tight. Another mode of tight-

ening the tire, which answers very well, is to drive pine wedges cross-wise under it, which holds it tight. If your wagons are even ordinarily good, the tire will never become loose, and you will not perhaps have to repair any on the whole trip. Any wagon that will perform a journey from Kentucky to Missouri, will stand the trip well. There are many wagons in Oregon, brought through last year, that are both old and very ordinary. It is much easier to repair a wagon on the way than you would suppose. Beware of heavy wagons, as they break down your teams for no purpose, and you will not need them. Light wagons will carry all you want, as there is nothing to break them down, no logs, no stumps, no rock, until you get more than half way, when your load is so much reduced, that there is then no danger. You see no stumps on the road until you get to Burnt River, and very few there, and no rock until you get into the Black Hills, and only there for a short distance, and not bad, and then you will see none until you reach the Great Soda Spring, on Bear River—at least none of any consequence. If an individual should have several wagons, some good and some ordinary, he might start with all of them; and his ordinary wagons will go to the mountains, where his load will be so reduced that his other wagons will do. It is not necessary to bring along an extra axletree, as you will rarely break one. A few pieces of well seasoned hickory, for the wedges and the like, you ought to bring.

TEAMS.—The best teams for this trip are ox teams. Let the oxen be from three to five years old, well set, and compactly built; just such oxen as are best for use at home. They should not be too heavy, as their feet will not bear the trip so well; but oxen six, seven, and eight years old, some of them very large, stood the trip last year very well, but not so well in general as the younger and lighter ones. Young cows make just as good a team as any. It is the travel and not the pulling that tires your team, until after you reach Fort Hall. If you have cows for a team it requires more of them in bad roads, but they stand the trip equally well, if not better, than oxen. We fully tested the ox and mule teams, and we found the ox teams greatly superior. One ox will pull as much as two mules, and, in mud, as much as four. They are more easily managed, are not so subject to be lost or broken down on the way, cost less at the start, and are worth about four times as much here. The ox is a most noble animal, patient, thrifty, durable, gentle, and easily driven, and does not run off. Those who come to this country will be in love with their oxen by the time they reach here. The ox will plunge through mud, swim over streams, dive into thickets, and climb mountains to get at the grass, and he will eat almost anything. Willows they eat with great greediness on the way; and it is next to impossible to drown an ox. I would advise all emigrants to bring all the cattle they can procure to this country, and all their horses, as they will, with proper care, stand the trip well. We

found a good horse to stand the trip as well as a mule. Horses need shoeing, but oxen do not. I had oxshoes made, and so did many others, but it was money thrown away. If a man had \$500, and would invest it in young heifers in the States and drive them here, they would here be worth at least \$5,000; and by engaging in stock raising, he could make an independent fortune. Mileh cows on the road are exceedingly useful, as they give an abundance of milk all the way, though less toward the close of it. By making what is called thickened milk on the way, a great saving of flour is effected, and it is a most rich and delicious food, especially for children. We found that yearling calves, and even sucking calves, stood the trip very well; but the sucking calves had all the milk.

PROVISIONS.—One hundred and fifty pounds of flour and forty pounds of bacon to each person. Besides this, as much dried fruit, rice, corn meal, parched corn meal, and raw corn, pease, sugar, tea, coffee, and such like articles as you can well bring. Flour will keep sweet the whole trip, corn meal to the mountains, and parched corn meal all the way. The flour and meal ought to be put in sacks or light barrels: and what they call shorts are just as good as the finest flour, and will perhaps keep better; but I do not remember of any flour being spoiled on the way. The parched corn meal is most excellent to make soup. Dried fruit is most excellent. A few beef cattle to kill on the way, or fat calves, are very useful, as you need fresh meat. Pease are most excellent.

The loading should consist mostly of provisions. Emigrants should not burthen themselves with furniture, or many beds; and a few light trunks, or very light boxes, might be brought to pack clothes in. Trunks are best, but they should be light. All heavy articles should be left, except a few cooking vessels, one shovel, and a pair of pot hooks. Clothes enough to last a year, and several pair of strong, heavy shoes to each person, it will be well to bring. If you are heavily loaded let the quantity of sugar and coffee be small, as milk is preferable and does not have to be hauled. You should have a water keg, and a tin canister made like a powder canister to hold your milk in; a few tin cups, tin plates, tin saucers, and butcher knives: and there should be a small grindstone in company, as the tools become dull on the way. Many other articles may be useful. Rifles and shotguns, pistols, powder, lead, and shot, I need hardly say are useful, and some of them necessary on the road, and sell well here. A rifle that would cost \$20 in the States is worth \$50 here, and shotguns in proportion. The road will be found, upon the whole, the best road in the world, considering its length. On the Platte, the only inconvenience arising from the road is the propensity to sleep in the daytime. The air is so pleasant and the road so smooth that I have known many a teamster to go fast asleep in his wagon, and his team stop still in the road. The usual

plan was for the wagons behind to drive around him, and leave him until he waked up, when he would come driving up, looking rather sheepish. Emigrants should start as early as possible in ordinary seasons; by first of May at furthest; even as early as first of April would do. For those emigrants coming from the Platte country, it is thought that they had better cross the Missouri River at McPherson's Ferry, in Hatt County, and take up the ridge between Platte and Kansas rivers; but I can not determine that question. Companies of from forty to fifty wagons are large enough. Americans are prone to differ in opinion, and large companies become unwieldy, and the stock become more troublesome. In driving stock to this country about one in ten is lost; not more. Having started, the best way to save the teams is to drive a reasonable distance every day, and stop about an hour before sundown. This gives time for arranging the camp, and for the teams to rest and eat before it is dark. About eight hours' drive in long days—resting one hour at noon—I think is enough. Never drive irregularly, if you can avoid it. On Platte River, Bear River, and Boisé River, and in many other places, you can camp at any point you please; but at other places on the way you will be compelled to drive hard some days to get water and range. When you reach the country of buffalo, never stop your wagons to hunt, as you will eat up more provisions than you will save. It is true you can kill buffalo, but they are always far from camp, and the weather is too warm to save much of it. When you reach the country of game, those who have good horses can keep the company in fresh meat. If an individual wishes to have great amusement hunting the buffalo, he had better have an extra horse, and not use him until he reaches the buffalo region. Buffalo hunting is very hard upon horses, and emigrants had better be cautious how they unnecessarily break down their horses. A prudent care should be taken of horses, teams, and provisions, from the start. Nothing should be wasted or thrown away that can be eaten. If a prudent course is taken, the trip can be made, in ordinary seasons, in four months. It took us longer; but we lost a great deal of time on the road, and had the way to break. Other routes than the one traveled by us, and better routes, may be found. Captain Gant, our pilot, was decidedly of the opinion that to keep up the South Fork of the Platte, and cross it just above a stream running into it, called the Kashlapood, and thence up the latter stream, passing between the Black Hills on your right and peaks of the Rocky Mountains on your left, and striking our route at Green River, would be a better and nearer route—more plentifully supplied with game than the one we came. He had traveled both routes, and brought us the route he did because he had been informed that large bands of the Sioux Indians were hunting upon the southern route.

The trip to Oregon is not a costly or expensive one. An individual

can move here as cheap, if not cheaper, than he can from Tennessee or Kentucky to Missouri. All the property you start with you can bring through, and it is worth thribble as much as when you started. There is no country in the world where the wants of man can be so easily supplied, upon such easy terms as this; and none where the beauties of nature are displayed upon a grander scale.

[December 28, 1844.]

LINNTON, Oregon Territory, 1844.

The fisheries of this country are immense. Foremost of all the fish of this, or any other country, is the salmon. Of the numbers of this fish taken annually in the Columbia River, and its tributaries, it would be impossible to state. They have been estimated at ten thousand barrels annually, which I think is not too large. The salmon is a beautiful fish, long, round, and plump, weighing generally about twenty pounds, very fat, and yet no food of any kind is ever found in the stomach. What they eat no one can tell. Sir Humphrey Davy supposed that the gastric juice of the salmon was so powerful as instantly to dissolve all substances entering the stomach. The salmon in this country is never caught with a hook; but they are sometimes taken by the Indians with small scoop nets, and generally with a sort of spear, of very peculiar construction, and which I will describe. They take a pole, made of some hard wood, say ten feet long and one inch in diameter, gradually sharpened to a point at one end. They then cut off a piece from the sharp prong of a buckhorn, about four inches long, and hollow out the large end of this piece so that it fits on the end of the pole. About the middle of the buckhorn they make a hole, through which they put a small cord or leather string, which they fasten to the pole about two feet from the lower end. When they spear a fish, the spear passes through the body, the buckhorn comes off the pole, and the pole pulls out of the hole made by the spear, but the buckhorn remains on the opposite side of the fish, and he is held fast by the string, from which it is impossible to escape. All the salmon caught here are taken by the Indians, and sold to the whites at about ten cents each, and frequently for less. One Indian will take about twenty per day upon an average. The salmon taken at different points vary greatly in kind and quality, and it is only at particular places that they can be taken. The fattest and best salmon are caught at the mouth of the Columbia; the next best are those taken in the Columbia, a few miles below Vancouver, at the cascades, and at the dalles. Those taken at the Wallamette Falls are smaller and inferior, and are said to be of a different kind. What is singular, this fish can not be taken in any considerable numbers, with large seines. This fish is too shy and too active to be thus taken. I believe no white man has yet succeeded in taking them with the gig. The salmon

make their appearance in the vicinity of Vancouver, first in the Klackamus. The best salmon are taken in June. The sturgeon is a very large fish, caught with a hook and line, and is good eating. They are taken in the Wallamette, below the falls, and in the Columbia at all points, and in the Snake River as high up as Fort Boisé.

NAVIGATION.—As I have before stated, the navigation of the Columbia is good to The Dalles, with the exception of the cascades. The river near the ocean is very wide, forming bays, and is subject to high winds, which render the navigation unsafe for small craft. The difficulties at the mouth of the river will rapidly diminish as the business increases, and they have regular pilots and steam towboats. Ships pass up the Wallamette some five miles above Linnton, where there is a bar; but small ships go up higher, and to within seven or eight miles of the falls. Above the falls, the Wallamette is navigable for steamboats about fifty miles. Tom Hill River is navigable for canoes and keelboats up to the forks, the distance I can not say. The navigation of this, the first section, is much better than that of the second section.

WATER POWER.—The water power of this country is unequalled, and is found distributed throughout this section. The water power at the falls of the Wallamette can not be surpassed in the world. Any quantity of machinery can be put in motion; but the good water power is not confined to the Wallamette Falls. Everywhere on the Columbia and Wallamette rivers there are mill sites as good, but not so large as the falls. Most of the mill sites in this country are overshots; but we have not only the finest water power, but we have the finest timber.

TIMBER.—The timber of this section of Oregon constitutes one main source of its wealth. It is found in inexhaustible quantities on the Columbia and on the Wallamette, just where the water power is at hand to cut it up, and where ships can take it on board. The principal timber of this section is the fir, white cedar, white oak, and black ash. There three kinds of fir,—the white, yellow, and red, all of them fine timber for planks, shingles, boards, and rails. The white fir makes the best shingles. The fir is a species of the pine, grows very tall and straight, and stands very thick upon the ground. Thick as they stand upon the ground, when you cut one it never lodges, for the reason this timber never forks, and the limbs are too small to stop a falling tree. You can find them in the vicinity of Linnton, from eight feet in diameter to small saplings; and the tallest of them will measure about two hundred and twenty-five feet. In the Cascade Mountains, and near the mouth of the Columbia River, they rise to the height of three hundred feet. The fir splits exceedingly well, and makes the finest boards of any timber I have ever seen. I cut one tree from which I sawed twenty-four cuts of three-foot boards, and there are plenty of such trees all

around me, yet untouched. The white cedar is a very fine timber, nearly if not quite equal to the red cedar in the States.

The wild animals of this the first section of Oregon, are the black bear, black-tailed deer, raccoon, panther, polecat, rabbit, wolf, beaver, and a few others. Deer and wolves are plenty. We have no buffaloes, antelopes, or prairie chickens here, but in the second section prairie chickens are plenty. As for birds, we have the bluejay, larger than the jay of the States, and deep blue. We have also the nut-brown wren, a most beautiful and gentle little bird, very little larger than the humming bird. Also, a species of bird which resembles the robin in form, color, and size. Also, a bird that sings the livelong night; but although I have heard them often, I have never seen one. The bald eagle, so well described by Wilson, is here found all along the rivers, but he was here to catch his own game, as there are no fish-hawks to do it for him. The eagle here feeds principally upon the dead salmon that float down the rivers, for you are aware, perhaps, that out of the myriads of salmon that ascend the rivers of Oregon, not one ever finds the way back to the ocean. They are never found swimming down stream, but their last effort is to ascend. The eagle also feeds upon wild ducks, which he catches as follows: He darts at the duck while in the water, and the duck dives, but as soon as he rises to the surface, the eagle, having turned himself, strikes at the duck again and the duck again dives. This manœuvre the eagle continues until the duck becomes tired, when the eagle nabs him just as he rises to the top of the water. The duck seems to be afraid to attempt escape upon the wing. We have also pleasants very abundant, and they are most excellent eating. Like old Ireland itself, there are no poisonous reptiles or insects in this section of Oregon. The only snake is the small harmless garter snake, and there are no flies to annoy the cattle.

MOUNTAINS.—We have the most beautiful scenery in North America—the largest ocean, the purest and most beautiful streams, and loftiest and most beautiful trees. The several peaks of the Cascade range of mountains are grand and imposing objects. From Vancouver you have a fair and full view of Mount Hood, perhaps the tallest peak of the Cascades, and which rises nearly sixteen thousand feet above the level of the Pacific, and ten thousand feet above the surrounding mountains. This lofty pile rises up by itself, and is in form of a regular cone, covered with perpetual snow. This is the only peak you can see from Vancouver, as the view is obscured by the tall fir timber. At the mouth of the Wallamette, as you enter the Columbia, you have a view of both Mount Hood and Mount St. Helena. From Linnton you have a very fair and full view of Mount St. Helena, about fifty miles distant; but it looks as if it was within reach. This peak is very smooth, and in the form of a regular cone, and nearly, if not quite, as tall as Mount Hood, and also covered with perpetual snow. This moun-

tain is now a burning volcano. It commenced about a year since. The crater is on the side of the mountain, about two thirds of the distance from its base. This peak, like Mount Hood, stands far off and alone, in its solitary grandeur, rising far, far above all surrounding objects. On the sixteenth of February, 1844, being a beautiful and clear day, the mountain burned most magnificently. The dense masses of smoke rose up in one immense column, covering the whole crest of the mountain in clouds. Like other volcanoes, it burns at intervals. This mountain is second to but one volcanic mountain in the world, Cotopaxi, in South America. On the side of the mountain, near its top, is a large black object, amidst the pure white snow around it. This is supposed to be the mouth of a large cavern. From Indian accounts this mountain emitted a volume of burning lava about the time it first commenced burning. An Indian came to Vancouver with his foot and leg badly burnt, who stated that he was on the side of the mountain hunting deer, and he came to a stream of something running down the mountain, and when he attempted to jump across it, he fell with one foot into it; and that was the way in which he got his foot and leg burned. This Indian came to the fort to get Doctor Barclay to administer some remedy to cure his foot. From a point on the mountain immediately back of Linnton you can see five peaks of the Cascade range. As we passed from the Atila [Umatilla?] to Doctor Whitmarsh's [Whitman's?] we could distinctly see Mount Hood, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty miles.

CLIMATE.—The climate of this, the lower section of Oregon, is indeed most mild. The winter may be said to commence in about the middle of December, and end in February, about the 10th. I saw strawberries in bloom about the first of December last in the Fallatry [Tualatin?] Plains, and as early as the twentieth of February the flowers were blooming on the hill sides. The grass has now been growing since about the tenth of February, and towards the end of that month the trees were budding, and the shrubbery in bloom. About the twenty-sixth of November we had a spell of cold weather and a slight snow, which was gone in a day or two. In the month of December we had a very little snow, and it melted as it fell. In January we had a great deal of snow, which all melted as it fell, except once, which melted in three days. The ground has not been frozen more than one inch deep the whole winter, and plowing has been done throughout the winter and fall. The ink with which I now write has stood in a glass inkstand, on a shelf, far from the fire, in a house with only boards nailed on the cracks, during the whole month of January, and has not been frozen, as you may see from its good color. As regards rains in the winter, I have found them much less troublesome than I anticipated. I had supposed that no work could be done here during the rainy season; but a great deal more outdoor work can be done in the winter season than in the

Western States. The rains fall in very gentle showers, and are generally what you term drizzling rains, so light that a man can work all day without getting wet through a blanket coat. The rains are not the cold, chilly rains that you have in the fall and spring seasons in the East, but are warm as well as gentle. Since I have been here I have witnessed less wind than in any country I have ever been in; and I have heard no thunder, and only seen one tree that had been struck by lightning. If the tall timber we have here were in the States, it would be riven and blown down, until there would not be many trees left. The rains are never hard enough here to wash the roads or the fields. You can find no gullies washed in the roads or fields in this region.

COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES.—I consider the commercial advantages of this country as very great. The trade with the Sandwich Islands is daily increasing. We are here surrounded with a half civilized race of men, and our manufacturing power will afford us a means of creating a home market besides. South America, the Sandwich Islands, and California, must depend upon us for their lumber. Already arge quantities of shingles and plank are sent to the Islands. We shall always have a fine market for all our surplus; but, until this country is settled, we shall have a demand at home. Most of the vessels visiting the Pacific touch at the Sandwich Islands, and they will be glad to obtain fresh supplies of provisions there. The Russian settlements must also obtain their supplies here. We have China within our reach, and all the islands of the Pacific. There can be no competition with us in the way of provisions, as we have no neighbors in that line. I consider Oregon as superior to California. The climate of that country is too warm for men to have any commercial enterprise. Besides, in California, pork and beef can not be put up; and consequently, the grazer loses half his profits. For a commercial and manufacturing people, the climate of Oregon is warm enough. We can here preserve our pork and beef, and we have much finer timber than they have in California, and better water power, and not the drouths they have there. I do not wish a warmer climate than this. A very warm climate enervates mankind too much.

TOWNS.—This is a new item in the geography of this country, and one that I have never seen before; but of late towns have become quite common. As all the towns yet laid out in the country are upon the water, I shall begin at the mouth of the Columbia, and come upwards. First, there is old Astoria revived. Captain Applegate and others are now laying off a town at old Astoria, to be called Astoria. They have not yet sold any lots. Next is Linnton, laid off by Burnett and McCown. This place is on the west bank of the Wallamette River, four miles above its mouth, and is the nearest point on the river to the Fallatry [Tualatin] Plains, and the nearest eligible point to the head of

ship navigation for large vessels on the Wallamette. Next in order is Oregon City, laid out by Doctor McLoughlin, at the falls. At this place there are four stores, two sawmills, one gristmill, and there will soon be another built by the Doctor, to contain about three run of stones. There is quite a village here. The last town I shall mention is Champoe, on the Wallamette, at the head of navigation. I do not know that any lots have as yet been sold at that place. Business of all kinds done in the territory is very active, and times are flourishing. Lazy men have become industrious, as there is no drinking or gambling here among the whites; and labor meets with such ready employment and such ample reward, that men have more inducements to labor here than elsewhere. This is, as yet, no country for lawyers, and we have the most peaceable and quiet community in the world. Mechanics find ready employment, as well as ordinary laboring hands. Farming is considered the best business in this country. This may be seen at once from the prices of produce, and its easy production. The business of making and putting up butter, which is here never worth less than twenty cents, is very profitable. Good fresh butter, I am told, is never worth less than fifty cents, and often \$1 per pound in the Pacific Islands. There are now in operation, or will be this summer, mills enough to supply the population with flour. There are several mills, both saw and grist, in operation up the Wallamette, above the falls. There is no scarcity of provisions at the prices I have stated; and I find that our emigrants who came out last year, live quite comfortably, and have certainly improved much in their appearance. When an individual here has any idle time he can make shingles, which are worth \$4 for fir and \$5 per thousand for cedar. Any quantity of them can be sold at those rates. We have the finest spar timber, perhaps, in the world, and vessels often take off a quantity of timber for spars. The sawmills at Wallamette Falls cut large quantities of plank, which they sell at \$2 per hundred. Carpenters and other mechanics obtain \$3 per day and found, and ordinary hands \$1 per day and found. The fir timber of this country makes excellent coal for blacksmiths; and what is singular, neither the fir nor cedar, when burned, make any ashes. It has been supposed that the timbered land of this country will be hard to clear up, but I have come to a very different conclusion, from the fact that the fir timber has very little top, and is easily killed, and burns up readily. It also becomes seasoned very soon. It is the opinion of good farmers that the timbered land will be the best wheat land in this country.

P. H. B.

REVIEW.

“THE CONQUEST”^{29*}

THE TRUE STORY OF LEWIS AND CLARK.

This book is more comprehensive than its subtitle would indicate. Part one gives the story of George Rogers Clark and the American conquest of the Old Northwest; part two is an account of the Lewis and Clark expedition; part three unfolds the work of William Clark, first as territorial governor of Missouri and then as United States Indian agent, in leading the Indian tribes westward before the advance of the white man.

The book gathers up, at different spots in Virginia, threads of adventure, romance, and war of certain national Ulyssean spirits, weaves them into our national history, carries them across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia, and bringing them back, with one main thread left, the author works a rosette with Saint Louis as the center. Or, to change the metaphor, she clears a highway from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi and blazes a trail to the Pacific. It is a stupendous task that she essays,—the story of the pressing back of the red race by the white, from the Alleghanies to beyond the Missouri, and the penetration of the white race to the Pacific.

Her style is admirably adapted to carry out such a work, but it is quite evident that a plan like that of Mrs. Dye's in “The Conquest” no more lends itself to art than did the lives of the successive generations of pioneers who carried the frontier from the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific. Though the lone explorers and pathfinders led very plain

*The Conquest, by Eva Emery Dye, A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago.

lives, hardly conscious of the high purposes they were fulfilling, their work, nevertheless, was exceedingly useful as forerunners of civilization and heralds of national destiny. So with Mrs. Dye's book. Her coign of vantage in her home in the oldest American community on the Pacific Coast for the perspective of our national history, her spirit as an ardent hero-worshipper, her aptitude for biographical narrative, her keen zest for dramatic and historic conjunctions of time or place, her strongly feminine point of view so rarely applied to chapters of adventure, and above all her intense enthusiasm which fuses remotely related details into an integral whole—these make "The Conquest" a book useful to the student of history. She was indefatigable in her search for the material for her book, and successful. Many a new clue promising information about some one of the Lewis and Clark party did she find and follow out. Her book represents a fine array of historical material, and not a little of it is new.

She took a large field. Of necessity she could point out only immediate relations of events. The deeper relations, the true proportions, could not be expected. It was natural, too, that salient and relevant facts should be overlooked. For all that the book is a genuine and an important contribution to the literature of American history.

HISTORIAN OF THE NORTHWEST.

A WOMAN WHO LOVED OREGON.

By WILLIAM A. MORRIS, A.B.

(From Pamphlet "In Memoriam.")

Poems, 1851.
Florence Fane Sketches, 1863-65.
The River of the West, 1870.
All Over Oregon and Washington, 1872.
Woman's War Against Whisky, 1874.
The New Penelope, 1877.
Bancroft History of Oregon, 2 vols., 1886.
Bancroft History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana.
Bancroft History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming.
Bancroft History of California, vols. 6 and 7.
History of Early Indian Wars in Oregon, 1893.
Atlantis Arisen.
Poems, 1900.

By the death, on November 14th, of Frances Fuller Victor there was removed the most versatile figure in Pacific Coast literature, a literary pioneer on the coast, and a woman to whom Oregonians owe much. Frances Fuller was born in the township of Rome, New York, May 23, 1826, and had, therefore, reached the ripe age of seventy-six years. She was a near relation of Judge Ruben H. Walworth, Chancellor of the State of New York. Through her ancestor, Lucy Walworth, wife of Veach Williams, who lived at Lebanon, Connecticut, in the early part of the eighteenth century, she could trace her descent from Egbert, the first King of England, while Veach Williams himself was descended from Robert Williams, who came over from England in 1637 and settled at Roxbury, Massachusetts.

When Mrs. Victor was thirteen years of age her parents moved to Wooster, Ohio, and her education was received at a young ladies' seminary at that place. From an early age she took to literature and when but fourteen years old wrote both prose and verses for the county papers. A little later the *Cleveland Herald* paid for her poems, some of which were copied in English journals.

Mrs. Victor's younger sister, Metta, who subsequently

married a Victor, a brother of Frances' husband, was also a writer of marked ability. Between the two a devoted attachment existed, and in those days the two ranked with Alice and Phoebe Carey, the four being referred to as Ohio's boasted quartet of sister poets. The Fuller sisters contributed verses to the *Home Journal*, of New York City, of which N. P. Willis and George P. Morris were then the editors. Metta was known as the "Singing Sybil." In eulogy of the two sisters, N. P. Willis at this time writes concerning them :

One in spirit and equal in genius, these most interesting and brilliant ladies—both still in earliest youth—are undoubtedly destined to occupy a very distinguished and permanent place among the native authors of this land.

In her young womanhood Frances spent a year in New York City amid helpful literary associations. Being urged by their friends, the two sisters published together a volume of their girlhood poems in 1851. In the more rigorous self-criticism of later years Mrs. Victor has often called it a mistaken kindness which induced her friends to advise the publication of these youthful productions ; but in these verses is to be seen the true poetic principle, and their earnestness is especially conspicuous.

Metta Fuller Victor, after her marriage, took up her residence in New York City, and continued her literary work both in prose and in verse until her death, a number of years ago. Frances' husband, Henry C. Victor, was a naval engineer and was ordered to California in 1863. She accompanied him and for nearly two years wrote for the San Francisco papers, her principal contributions consisting of city editorials to the *Bulletin*, and a series of society articles under the *nom de plume* of Florence Fane, which, we are told, by their humorous hits, elicited much favorable comment.

About the close of the war Mr. Victor resigned his position and came to Oregon, where his wife followed him in

1865. She has often told how, upon her first arrival in this state, she recognized in the type both of the sturdy pioneers of Oregon and of their institutions something entirely new to her experience, and at once determined to make a close study of Oregon. As she became acquainted with many of the leading men of the state, and learned more and more about it, she determined to write its history, and began to collect material for that purpose. In doing this she performed a service of inestimable value to the state, since our state builders were then nearly all alive, and facts concerning the beginnings of the state were well known to them, which, had it not been for Mrs. Victor's efforts, would have been lost to posterity.

Her first book on the history of Oregon was "The River of the West," a biography of Joseph L. Meek, which was published in 1870. Many middle-aged Oregonians tell what a delight came to them when in boyhood and girlhood days they read the stories of Rocky Mountain adventures of the old trapper Meek, as recited by this woman of culture and literary training, who herself had taken so great an interest in them. The book was thumbed and passed from hand to hand as long as it would hold together, and to-day scarcely a copy is to be obtained in the Northwest. Mrs. Victor before her death prepared a second edition for the press, and it is to be sincerely hoped that the work will soon be republished. For, intensely interesting as the "River of the West" is, the chief value of the work does not lie in this fact, but rather in its value to the historian. Meek belonged to the age before the pioneers. It was the trapper and trader who explored the wilds of the West and opened up the way for the immigrant. That historians are just beginning to work up the history of the fur trade in the far West, the number of books in that particular field published within a year will testify; and such men, for instance, as Capt. H. M.

Chittenden, who last year published his "History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West," freely confess their indebtedness to Mrs. Victor's "River of the West" for much of their material; and so the stories of the Rocky Mountain bear killer, Meek, romantic though many of them are, check with the stories given by other trappers and traders and furnish data for an important period in the history of the Northwest.

In 1872 was published Mrs. Victor's second book touching on the Northwest, "All Over Oregon and Washington." This work, she tells us in the preface, was written to supply a need existing because of the dearth of printed information concerning these countries. It contained observations on the scenery, soil, climate, and resources of the Northwestern part of the Union, together with an outline of its early history, remarks on its geology, botany, and mineralogy and hints to immigrants and travelers. The preface closes with the prophetic words:

The beautiful and favored region of the Northwest Coast is about to assume a commercial importance which is sure to stimulate inquiry concerning the matters herein treated of. I trust enough is contained between the covers of this book to induce the very curious to come and see.

Her devotion to the Northwest and her interest in it could not be more clearly expressed than in the words just quoted. Her interest in the subject led her at a later date to revise "All Over Oregon and Washington," and to publish it again, this time under the title, "Atlantis Arisen."

In 1874 was published "Woman's War With Whisky," a pamphlet which she wrote in aid of the temperance movement in Portland. Her husband was lost at sea in November, 1875, and from this time on she devoted herself exclusively to literary pursuits. During her residence in Oregon she had frequently written letters for the *San Francisco Bulletin* and sketches for the *Overland Monthly*. These stories, together with some poems, were published in 1877 in a volume entitled "The New Penelope."

This last volume was printed by the Bancroft publishing establishment in San Francisco. The Bancrofts were an Ohio family of Mrs. Victor's early acquaintance, and Hubert Howe Bancroft laid before her his plan for writing the history of the Pacific Slope, and asked her to work on the part concerning Oregon. In 1878 she entered the Bancroft library, taking with her a mass of valuable material relating to Oregon history, which she had collected in the days when she intended to publish an Oregon history.

For eleven years, or until the completion of the Bancroft series, Mrs. Victor remained in this service. Here she did the crowning work of her life. At least six of the volumes which to-day pass as the works of Hubert Howe Bancroft were written by her. These are the "History of Oregon" in two volumes, the "History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana," the "History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming," and the sixth and seventh volumes of the "History of California." These latter two volumes cover the political history of California, and were prepared at the special request of Mr. Bancroft, though out of her regular line of work, for the reason that he considered Mrs. Victor especially strong as a writer on political subjects. Parts of the Bancroft "History of the Northwest Coast" and numerous biographies throughout the series are also from her pen.

The style of writing in all of these histories is clear and vivid, for Mrs. Victor had that most enviable of gifts, the ability to put life into her writings. As a historian she was careful, painstaking and conscientious. Her judicial habit of thought is especially prominent, an attitude toward things which she inherited in common with her kinsman, Judge Walworth.


That her work was done well is fortunate for the people of seven Northwest states. Her histories of six of them were not only the first to be published, but the only

histories in available form to-day. Her history of the seventh, Oregon, was the first history of this State ever printed which brought the account past the provisional period and which took up the subject for thorough treatment. The press reviews at the time the Oregon volumes were published all united in their praise, and many, taking them to be the work of Hubert Howe Bancroft, pointed out the superiority of this work over the previously published volumes of the Bancroft series.

The commendation was richly deserved, for time and time again Mrs. Victor has said that Oregon was her favorite subject, and upon this history she lavished an untold amount of care and labor.

After her return to Oregon she was employed by the state in 1893 to complete her "History of the Early Indian Wars of Oregon," a volume which was published by the State Printer the following year. She continued to write for the OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY up to the time of her death. After a thirty years' study of the history of Oregon she stated her appreciation of the subject in a letter to the Secretary of State, in which she said that the history of no state is richer in the material that makes history interesting by combining the romantic and the philosophic elements. No state has had its early history better preserved or more clearly set forth, a result for which in large measure Frances Fuller Victor is responsible, and for which the people of Oregon owe to her a deep debt of gratitude. By her work on the history of the entire region west of the Rocky Mountains she has well earned the title once conferred upon her—the Clio of the Northwest.

Mrs. Victor's last published work was a small volume of poems printed in 1900, and selected from the many metrical compositions which she had written for newspapers and magazines through a period of sixty years. She was an able writer of essays and possessed an insight into the evolution of civilization and government rare, not only for an author of her sex, but for any author. Combining the qualities of poet, essayist, and historian, she occupied a position without a peer in the annals of Western literature.



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